The Christian Century

A Journal of Religion

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Churches and American Fascism

The End of National Socialism

Editorials

Why Not Use a Prayer Wheel?

By Morton S. Enslin

Is the Copeland Bill a Fraud?

By T. Swann Harding

California's Red Trial

By Lawrence Wilson

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In This Issue

LAWRENCE WILSON
minister of the Pioneer Congregational church, Sacramento, and chaplain of the lower house in the California legislature, is observing the criminal syndicalist trial now in progress in the California state capital for The Christian Century. Mr. Wilson is a member of the board of the Congregational-Christian council for social action.

MORTON S. ENSLIN
is professor of New Testament at Crozer theological seminary, Chester, Pa. Dr. Enslin has written "The Ethics of Paul," has collaborated with Kirsopp Lake and others in writing "Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts," and is the translator from the French of "God the Eternal Torment of Man," by Marc Boegner.

T. SWANN HARDING
has written many articles for The Christian Century and other periodicals, as well as several books. His latest book, "The Popular Practice of Fraud," is attracting wide attention as a sober but carefully documented study of current business practices. Mr. Harding is at present editor of scientific publications for the United States department of agriculture, but he has spent years as a chemist in various bureaus of that department and in private business.

RALPH GOODALE
is professor of English literature at Hiram college, Hiram, O.

MIRON A. MORRILL
is on the staff of the board of education of the Methodist Episcopal church.

Next Week

The first of a series of articles on "Heretics of the Air," by Paul Hutchinson. The first article will deal with Father Coughlin.

NRA MEMBER U.S. WE DO OUR PART

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

March 13, 1935

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Calendar of Coming Events

Mar. 11-15. Baptists' annual pastors' conference, Theological seminary, Louisville, Ky.
Mar. 13-14. Oregon pastors conference, interdenominational, Portland, Ore.
Mar. 14. Conference of working class women on living costs, New York.
Mar. 14. Interracial conference, Philadelphia.
Mar. 14, 15, 20-22. Santa Barbara association Baptist school of Christian leadership, Santa Barbara, Calif.
Mar. 15-17. Northwest older boys' conference, Inland empire, Spokane, Wash.
Mar. 15, 18, 19. Terry lectures, Yale divinity school, New Haven, Conn.
Mar. 16. Greater Boston youth conference, First Congregational church, Cambridge, Mass.
Mar. 16. Northwest boys camps conference, Seattle, Wash.
Mar. 18-22. Convocation week, Eden Theological seminary, Webster Groves, Mo.
Mar. 20-22. Institute on world peace, interdenominational, Rollins college, Winter Park, Fla.
Mar. 23. Citywide international night, Y.M.C.A. Seattle, Wash.
Mar. 27. Methodist Episcopal Wilmington conference, Seaford, Del.
Mar. 30, 31. Illinois Baptist youth congress, First Baptist church, Danville, Ill.
Apr. 1. Indianapolis Methodist ministers association, Roberts Park Methodist church, Indianapolis.
Apr. 3. Delaware annual Methodist conference, Phila.
Apr. 3. Washington annual Methodist conference, Harrisburg, Pa.
Apr. 3. East German annual Methodist conference, Phila.
Apr. 5-7. Central Washington Baptist conference, Yakima, Wash.
Apr. 8. Taylor lectures, Yale divinity school, New Haven.
Apr. 8-10. West Tennessee Southern Baptist Sunday school convention, First Baptist church, Memphis.
Apr. 10. Protestant Episcopal convention, diocese of Arkansas, St. Mark's church, Jonesboro, Ark.
Apr. 12. Council of Federated church women, annual meeting, Central Christian church.
Apr. 22. Congregational convocation, New Haven, Conn.
Apr. 22-May 3. Ninth session rural church school, Vanderbilt school of religion, Nashville, Tenn.
Apr. 24. Central Pennsylvania annual Methodist conference, Lincoln street church, Shamokin, Pa.
Apr. 24. Wyoming annual Methodist conference, Central church, Endicott, N. Y.
Apr. 24. Central west annual Methodist conference, Kansas City, Mo.
Apr. 25. Newark annual Methodist conference, St. Luke's church, Newark, N. J.
Apr. 25. Troy annual Methodist conference, Troy, N. Y.
Apr. 26. Eastern Swedish annual Methodist conference, New York City.
Apr. 29. Wheeler City rescue mission, 41st anniversary.
Apr. 29-May 10. Disciples of Christ Spring leadership training course, Indianapolis.
Apr. 30. North Indiana annual Methodist conference, Fort Wayne, Ind.
Apr. 30-May 1. Annual meeting, department of evangelism, Federal council of churches, Washington, D. C.
May 2-5. National younger men's missionary congress, Stevens hotel, Chicago.
May 7-9. Baptist state convention of Washington, Yakima, Wash.
May 7-10. English Evangelical Lutheran synod of the northwest.

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EDITORIAL

The Arms Inquiry Is About to Report

PUBLIC interest in the arms inquiry centered for a week on Mr. Eugene G. Grace, president of the Bethlehem steel company, one of the "big three" in the shipbuilding world. The Nye committee had intended to do most of its questioning of Mr. Charles M. Schwab, chairman of Bethlehem's board, but Mr. Schwab left suddenly for Europe and Mr. Grace had to assume the stellar rôle. To say that Mr. Grace's performance as a witness captured public attention would be putting it mildly. The spectacle of a man who admitted receiving bonuses of $3,669,000 in two war years, criticizing the veterans for demanding payment of a bonus that figures out at about $1.25 for every day of army service, was just a little too much for the national sense of humor. When Mr. Grace went on to oppose any attempt to end profit-making on war materials, he was widely regarded as very funny, but he also managed to make many people very mad. The senate investigation is slowing down for the moment; there are likely to be few more sensational disclosures in the next few weeks. The reason is that the investigating committee is under senate order to present a report incorporating proposed legislation on April 1. The next few weeks, therefore, will be given to the preparation of that report. But the investigation is not at an end. After the report is in, and after the preliminary legislation proposed has been disposed of, there will still remain the investigation of the minor shipyards, of the chemical firms, of a large part of the aircraft industry, and of the banking interests behind the munitions makers.

Liberals Protest to Roosevelt Against War Preparations

A VIGOROUS protest against extravagant war preparations is being circulated by such liberals as Harry Emerson Fosdick, William H. Kilpatrick and Oswald Garrison Villard, and will be forwarded to President Roosevelt with signatures secured from every section of the nation. It is less than a year since Mr. Roosevelt signed the Vinson bill, authorizing the construction of 102 ships, 1,184 airplanes, and helping to precipitate a naval race. In addition to this, $370,000,000 previously set aside for public works was diverted to the army and navy. A measure particularly irritating to those who, though not actively supporting the administration, have nevertheless held their criticism in reserve, is house bill number 5593. This measure, initiated by the war department, provides that members of the C.C.C. may take, beyond their regular six months of service, two additional months of intensive military training. General MacArthur has been quoted as supporting this measure on the ground that the C.C.C. boys would be in good physical and mental condition for the postgraduate course in military science. He added that with this extra training they would be of service to their country "in case of an emergency." Protest against such measures from those who have hitherto refrained from captious criticism of the present administration is sure to be voiced, and in no uncertain terms. Furthermore, continuation of the warlike policies of the administration, in addition to its obvious drift to the right, will probably alienate many former friends of the new deal, and force them, by the logic of events, into the camp of the opposition. If this development ensues the administration has only itself to blame.

Is Mussolini's Truculence Abating?

TROOPSHIPS continued to clear from Italian ports for the Ethiopian trouble-zone last week, and press and news-reels began to show pictures calculated to persuade the world that young Italy was embarking on this imperialistic gamble in high spirits. But underneath all the bellicose utterances from Rome it was possible to detect an undertone of anxiety. Outwardly, Mussolini is as much set on punishing the Abyssinian sheep for attacking the Italian wolf as ever. But behind the scenes it looks as though the fascist dictator were beginning to wonder whether he could be sure that the Abyssinian sheep *is* a sheep. Such Italian soldiers as have had experience with army maneuvers in the wastes of Africa are said to be none too enthusiastic over the prospects for an Ethiopian campaign. And although Mr. Cortesi, who has a habit of mirror-

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ing *il duce's* thoughts with almost uncanny accuracy, still assures the readers of the New York Times that the Abyssinian emperor's peace proffers are only "a collection of beautiful words which are contradicted by all the facts in the case," the obvious failure of the African monarch to grow panicky and sue for peace on Mussolini's terms seems to be adding to the disquiet of the Italian dictator. Moreover, the haunting thought will not down that a campaign on the other side of the Suez canal is not the best way in the world to discourage German ambitions in Austria. Accordingly, Mussolini shouts that he could mobilize, if necessary, from seven to eight million men. It all sounds very confident, very much in the spirit of fascism's early saber-rattling. But it does not take much psychology to suspect that the louder Mussolini's noise the deeper his doubts. Far as he has committed himself, he may yet change his mind about the attractiveness of this Ethiopian adventure.

Oliver Wendell Holmes—Last of The Old New England

THE passing of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes must remind us poignantly how short and how crowded a history is ours, and how much more directly than in older countries our history has moulded our individual lives and thoughts. Acclaimed during his years on the supreme court's bench as the foremost liberal in American jurisprudence, meriting that acclaim by his insistence that judges did not interpret law but made law and moulded society, Justice Holmes' instrumentalism was in fact not something that he had learned from Dewey and James, but something that he had forged from his own experiences as that most instrumental of all human beings, a soldier in action. It takes almost an effort of imagination to realize that the most contemporary in his thinking of the supreme bench between 1902 and 1932 was the youthful volunteer with the Twentieth Massachusetts regiment who saw three years' service in the civil war and was wounded five times. Holmes, though neither he nor his friends expected it, recovered from his wounds, but he never ceased to be a soldier. It was, as Professor T. V. Smith has pointed out in his "Creative Sceptics," the experience of war which taught Holmes to "accept the universe" and to accept his fellow-men. And Holmes himself, whenever he had to explain to his later contemporaries what he meant by truth—which he once called the majority vote of that country which could lick all others—and what he meant by cooperation or antagonisms among men, harked back for his figures of speech to the days when it was his lot to try to kill enemies who were his fellow-countrymen and whom he admired because they did not acknowledge it when he and his companions had defeated them. In a day when liberalism is not only in disrepute, but when many kinds of liberalism are soft and deserve disrepute, it is well to remember that this American whose life was largely given to solving our own problems in our own national terms was no parlor liberal, no idealist in the sentimental sense of that word, but a man in whose veins and in whose traditions ran the blood and the sternness of the American Puritans. Possibly he is the last of that generation which, until the slaughter of the civil war, gave New England such a preponderant influence in our national thought.

What Did the Laymen Applaud?

CONGREGATIONAL laymen of Chicago recently staged a banquet at which Dr. Brewer Eddy was the guest speaker. Probably it was not intended that the cost of the affair should determine the financial standing of the audience, but those who attended—with the exception of the deadheads—were those who could afford to pay two dollars a plate. Missions, with its large budgets, has a tendency to make such people important, and there is no valid objection to giving them a place in the program of the church. The question, however, persists as to how much the church must reduce its social idealism to win their support. In this case Dr. Eddy started with a vigorous indictment of the Russian experiment—an indictment which was greeted, as was to be expected, with great applause. He then went ahead to warn all Americans, not excepting the Congregationalists, against the menace of those who would disturb the "profit system," the source of support for American institutions and the basis for the American standard of living. More and louder applause. Dr. Eddy then turned to a discussion of China and told of the magnificent work of the American board, of which he has long been a secretary, in cooperating with the Chinese government to establish the cooperative movement in the provinces which have been devastated by the communists. But the cooperative movement boasts that its chief excellence lies in the fact that those who join must "park their profit motives at the door"! What did it all mean? Is the American board to be reprimanded for undermining the profit system in China? Or is it good ethics to encourage the profit system in the United States to insure funds which will displace it in China? Or is Dr. Eddy too naive in his economic theories to realize that the profit system and the cooperative movement are mutually exclusive?

Increasing the Chances for Far Eastern Trouble

WHAT is the United States government up to with regard to a Chinese loan? Of course, matters such as this are customarily regarded as too recondite for the general public to be told anything about them until they are settled. In this case, the familiar policy of sending out from Washington denials that anything is afoot is being followed. But disclosures from London, and the anger shown in Tokyo, make it clear that the Washington denials are merely diplomatic. Something is certainly being cooked up. What is it? Apparently, it is an eleventh hour Anglo-American move to head off the negotiation of a direct loan from Japan to General Chiang Kai-shek's government by forcing China to accept instead a loan from a four-power con-

sortium in which the United States and Great Britain would have the controlling interest. London appears to have persuaded Washington that this is the only way to keep China from falling into the arms of Japan. It is now generally admitted that America's silver policy has done more than any other one thing to drive China into Japan's arms, so it may seem reasonable that the American government should be casting around for some move that would help to repair the damage already done. Is this the proper move? We emphatically doubt it. The only possible outcome of such a loan as is contemplated, forced on Japan quite as much as on China, would be to increase the political tension in the far east. And if the loan went into default—as loans to Chinese governments in the last two decades have almost invariably done—another batch of American investors would be left holding the bag, and another clamor would go up for a "strong policy," meaning use of the army and navy, in the far east. If Japan wants to burn her fingers again loaning money to a Chinese government, after her discouraging experiences with the Nishihara loans to the Anfu cabal, let her. But don't let London use that method of getting the United States more deeply involved in the far eastern mess than we already are.

Conservative Rabbis Endorse the Palestine Labor Movement

THE Rabbinical Assembly of America, which is the representative body of the conservative rabbinate in this country, has voted a sweeping endorsement of Histadruth, the Palestinian labor party whose program was described by Louis Minsky in the article, "Is Zionism Going Fascist?" in The Christian Century for February 20. In their resolutions the conservative rabbis say: "We express our hearty appreciation of the contributions of the labor movement, led by the Histadruth, to the rebuilding of the Jewish national home in Palestine and the advancement of the ideal of a cooperative commonwealth. . . . The Histadruth is charged with stirring up class warfare. We believe that this charge is a cloak behind which reactionaries have taken refuge to attack those who strive to defend the rights of the oppressed. Another charge against the Histadruth accuses it of teaching and disseminating atheism. . . . Nevertheless, we insist on our sympathy with the social aspiration of the Histadruth. In addition, it is a matter of record that the Histadruth and its affiliate organizations have been respectful of the traditional practices of their fellow Jews. . . . We see in the labor movement in Palestine the only instrument for obviating in that land the economic sins which have beset the modern world." It is of more than passing moment to see rabbis of the conservative and reform groups, hitherto so divided on other questions, finding unity of outlook and action in dealing with the social problems which confront the new Zionist communities in the Holy Land. The result is likely to be an immediate gain in the importance of American Judaism, already large, as a factor in bringing religion's power to bear on social problems in this country, as well as in Palestine. Meanwhile, however, reports of riots in Tel Aviv over sabbath observance show that the issues in Palestine between religious and secular Zionists are growing increasingly tense.

The Educators Win Mr. Hearst's Applause

THREE thousand teachers of the National Education association, in their annual session just held at Atlantic City, won the enthusiastic praise of the Hearst press when they passed a series of resolutions calculated to put to rest any suspicion that the N.E.A. had turned radical. The issue came to the front when eleven leading educators, in panel discussion, voted nine to two against "conditioning" the school children of the nation for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a planned social economy. Appointed two years ago to report on "Social Change and Education," this committee could find no policy upon which to agree. In presenting their views before the plenary session of the association they spoke as individuals, not as a committee. Their views, thus expressed, probably represented a cross-section of the opinion of the entire body of our nation's teachers. Aside from such men as George Counts, William H. Kilpatrick, Harold Rugg, Jesse H. Newlon, John K. Norton, and John Childs—all members of the Teachers' college faculty of Columbia university—no radical leaders emerged from this meeting. Brave things were said with reference to freedom in the classroom, but when they faced the specific task of teaching the principles of a new social order the school superintendents turned it down with such a resounding vote that many reporters considered their decision unanimous. Heywood Broun expressed his resentment by administering a stinging rebuke from the platform and refusing to deliver his prepared address, and Professor Newlon advised his fellow teachers to learn the art of radical leadership from the ministers of the nation. All of which once again indicates that liberal opinion in America, even in those intellectual circles where it might reasonably be expected to be understood and embraced, is still naive, incoherent, unorganized, and afraid.

Dictatorship in Cuba Is Imminent

AS predicted months ago, the present regime in Cuba is rapidly nearing collapse. Although this distraught island has not been in the headlines in recent months, its troubles were far from ended when President Mendieta took office in January 1934. Forced into power by American influence, at the expense of the government of Dr. Grau San Martin, who represented a considerable measure of popular support, President Mendieta has been doomed by the failure of the American sugar policy to relieve the economic crisis. The president now insists that he is willing to return to private life, but only on condition that a duly constituted successor can be installed. An election originally set for December has been repeatedly postponed,

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and may not be held before the end of this year. In the meantime Martinez Saenz, the revolutionary (ABC) party leader, and the conservative General Menocal, both operating from Miami, have stirred up no end of trouble. Radical student leaders, moreover, goaded into impatience, have instigated strike after strike, and have consistently defied the police who were under orders from the president not to deal too severely with them. But the situation has now gotten completely out of hand. An island-wide strike that includes 300,000 teachers has begun, and five cabinet members, seeing the handwriting on the wall, have resigned. In the meanwhile the newly arisen strong man of the island, Colonel Fulgencio Batista, remains in the background. He commands a well disciplined army of 25,000 or more men, and he alone has kept Mendieta in power during the past few months. He has indicated no desire for the office of president, but everyone concedes that the fate of Cuba is in his hands. Cuba will not go fascist in the European sense of that term, but it is difficult to see how she can avoid a military dictatorship, regardless of whether or not an election is held and regardless of who is elected.

The End of National Socialism

EVENTS are shaping with astonishing swiftness toward a complete change of policy inside Germany. Final abandonment of the platform on which the national socialist party rose to power seems to be a matter of only a few more weeks, or at most months. Faced with an economic problem which has grown so desperate that the state has legalized forced loans, the Hitler government is now preparing to forswear not only the socialistic but the racial planks in its program. The growing power of Dr. Schacht, recently appointed economic dictator of the reich, has now reached a point where he has dared to challenge anti-Semitism, the last of the distinctive nazi doctrines. There may be a Hitler government in Germany for a long time to come, but recent events prove that it will not be a national socialist government. Not, that is, in the sense in which national socialism was understood at the time of the proclamation of the third reich.

Evidence of the approaching shift in German policy with regard to the Jews has come so rapidly that it has been hard for the outside world to grasp the importance of what has happened. Rumor has insisted for months, as Dr. Schacht increased and consolidated his power, that he did not approve the nazi repression of the Jews, and was preparing to insist on lifting the economic ban despite Hitler's personal commitment to the cause of anti-Semitism. Few were prepared, however, for the startling developments which were compressed in the three days of February 26, 27 and 28. On February 26 Dr. Julius Lippert, nazi commissar for Berlin, appealed to the American chamber of commerce of that city for a lifting of the American boycott against German goods, asserting that the Jews in Germany were incurring no penalties which would justify such a measure. On the next day American opinion registered emphatically its rejection of Dr. Lippert's assertion and its accompanying plea. And on the next day the beginning of the nazi retreat from the policy of discrimination against Jews was announced from Berlin!

This sensational change in German internal policy was made known in characteristic indirect fashion. No government likes to admit that its past course has shown anything less than complete wisdom, and the Hitler government is under greater necessity than most to maintain the illusion of infallibility. In this case, therefore, the roundabout method was adopted of giving to the Associated Press an announcement for foreign consumption which, while insisting that there had been no change in Hitler's belief that Jews are "vampires and exploiters," admitted that orders had been given to local nazi leaders to pass the word throughout Germany that "the administration undertakes nothing more against the Jews." The reason for this, it was stated, lay in fear of "further boycotts, foreign exchange difficulties and other troubles." And the same dispatch contained the admission that the new orders represented a victory for Dr. Schacht over such nazi leaders, presumably including Hitler himself, as favored the anti-Semitic crusade. This inspired dispatch was not, however, given to the German press, and there are indications that its publication abroad was synchronized with a renewed outburst of Jewish vituperation in the provincial papers of the reich.

Surely few more dramatic shifts in important governmental policies have recently been crowded into three days! Of course, the nazi retreat from the policy of racial discrimination is not yet in more than its opening stages. Dr. Schacht, for all his rapidly growing power, must move cautiously. The actual effect of such orders as have now been given will be felt first of all in Berlin; it will take time to silence a Streicher in Nuremberg, or to bring to an end the personal persecutions which have all along been far more characteristic of rural and small-town Germany than of the capital. A first effect of this attempt to order an about-face from Berlin may easily prove to be a flare-up of minor Jewish persecution elsewhere. And the big business interests which are hoping that this change in policy may restore their foreign trade can be told at once that the pressure of outraged world opinion will certainly not be relaxed until the new policy announced abroad is openly and officially announced and enforced throughout Germany, with the complete support of the highest officials of the government, and until the teaching of racial discrimination in the schools is ended. The world will require much more than the left-handed admission of February 28 to persuade it that the German persecution of the Jews is really at an end. But it hails with joy this evidence that controlling elements in Germany have awakened to the folly of the nazi Jewish policy.

However, this initial move by Dr. Schacht to put an end to the official anti-Jewish policy is of importance not only in its bearing on the racial problem, but as evi-

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dence of the final liquidation of national socialism as a whole. Now that the German government is ready to toss its Aryan crusade overboard, it is clear that almost nothing remains of the platform which Hitler announced in Munich in 1920, and on which his party campaigned right up to the day when it assumed power, two years ago. A party congress in 1926 declared the nazi platform to be unalterable, and in his message celebrating the completion of two years in power Herr Hitler claimed that two-thirds of the program had already been achieved. But a comparison of the text of this immutable platform with the actualities of today's Germany will show that, in reality, almost two-thirds of the nazi program has been definitely abandoned, while almost all the rest of it is rapidly lapsing.

It is possible to argue that one plank in the nazi platform, the twenty-third, has actually been put into effect. This is the plank which places press, art and literature under complete government control. The twenty-fifth plank, calling for "a strong central power in the reich," has also been realized in part, but its pledge of "absolute authority of the political central parliament over the entire reich and all its organizations" reads strangely today. As for the Aryan planks —the fourth, fifth and sixth—while these have continued to provide an emotional rallying-point, it is now claimed that they never have been carried into full effect, and the new orders of February 28 require their further suspension. Incidentally, Dr. Schacht went out of his way last week to announce that he has kept a Jew in charge of the government's control of foreign exchange, in defiance of plank six of the nazi program.

Certain of the nazi promises have been partially fulfilled, but these were promises which any government intent on retaining power would have been forced to meet. They include the planks promising an increase in employment, demanding recognition of equality with other nations, control of immigration, and various social measures including maternal care and the prohibition of child labor. (It is widely alleged that the nazis juggle the figures on employment, showing gains by the simple expedient of ignoring certain age, racial and political groups. But all governments juggle their employment figures today.) Just what was meant by the planks promising that every citizen would "work intellectually or physically . . . within the limits of the whole to the advantage of all," and that "those who commit crimes against the people, usurers, profiteers and so forth, must be punished by death," is a bit too vague to allow a judgment as to how far they have been put into effect.

But the planks which gave the nazis a right to campaign for power as a socialist party have been unceremoniously discarded. What has become of the promise of "the elimination of income which is obtained without labor or effort"? What has become of the promise of "confiscation of all war profits"? What has become of "the nationalization of all trusts"? What has become of "profit-sharing in all large concerns"? What has become of "a grandiose extension of the old-age pension system"? What has become of "immediate communalization of department stores and their rental at low cost to small merchants"? What has become of "the elimination of land interest"? Yes, and it might well be added, what has become of Gottfried Feder, the man who wrote these planks, and the radical element in the nazi party which he represented?

More significant than anything else, however, is the abandonment of plank twenty-two: "We demand the elimination of the mercenary army and the formation of a people's army." Two years of Hitler rule finds the nazi "people's army"—the brown shirts—disarmed, discredited and being rapidly edged out of the picture. In contrast, the once hated "mercenary army" —the reichswehr—is in complete political control within the reich, and recently forced Hitler and his party associates, in a dramatic scene staged in the Berlin opera house, to acknowledge its power.

In other words, any realistic interpretation of recent events in Germany, taking into account the rise of Dr. Schacht in one field and of the general staff of the reichswehr in another, will show that the "nazi revolution" has revolved in two short years right back to an essentially Prussian dictatorship which was the ruling idea of the Hohenzollerns. What Germany actually is today is such an old-fashioned dictatorship, with the professional army caste maintaining a state whose foreign and economic policies are controlled by big finance. If "national socialism" was the program of the twenty-five theses, then national socialism is ended. Few "revolutions" have so quickly been emptied of their revolutionary content and delivered into the control of the very elements which they were created to destroy.

The Churches and American Fascism

IT IS a sad commentary on the state of American politics that Huey Long and Father Coughlin would have only to combine their growing political influence to become a threat of serious proportions. Such a combination is not an immediate probability because a wide cultural gulf separates the poor whites of the south, who endowed Long with political power, and the followers of the radio priest. But it is certainly not an impossibility; and there are rumors that negotiations to this end are already taking place.

The threat of the Long-Coughlin type of politics may be roughly but not inaccurately described as the threat of fascism. The description is not accurate if we mean by it that American political developments are in danger of following the German-Italian pattern. There are resources in American life which make such a development unlikely. The description is nevertheless roughly correct in the sense that Long and Coughlin represent a political movement of the more desperate lower middle classes—as Hitler and Mussolini did—and that its purpose is to express the political resentments of these classes against both the plutocracy and labor.

The political program designed to accomplish this

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purpose is as ambiguous as all middle class programs are. It proposes to establish social justice without making any basic changes in the present scheme of economic and industrial production. It seeks to satisfy two equally prominent characteristics in the temper of the middle classes. The one is resentment against the injustices of present society. The disintegration and contraction of capitalistic economy impoverishes large sections of the middle class as well as labor. The other is fear of a thoroughgoing reorganization of our economic life. That fear is prompted by an aversion of the lower bourgeois to the equalitarian ideals of labor, their hope of being able to preserve the minimal advantages of social prestige and privilege which they still possess in an inegalitarian society, and their dread of revolution.

The fascist or semi-fascist programs, which seek to satisfy these two rather incompatible characteristics of the middle class mind and temper, reveal striking similarities, whether they are fashioned in the swamps of Louisiana, a beer hall of Munich or a radio station dedicated to the little flower of Jesus.

First, they are radical on financial policy without being radical in regard to the property system. They advocate inflation, or some new credit scheme, or promise "freedom from interest servitude." In short, they attack banks and banking without recognizing that high finance is simply one aspect of capitalism and the whole scheme of private manipulation of public and social processes. They appeal for this reason particularly to farmers who know that a mortgage rests heavily upon their farms but who have little knowledge of the structure and the meaning of our total economy.

Second, they promise limitation on income through political action without touching the economic system which automatically makes for inequality and injustice. Huey Long's program of confiscating capital and income above a certain limit of millions states this idea in vivid caricature. It is simple enough to appeal to the imagination of simple people. It does not destroy the middle class individualistic illusion that we are living in a land in which it is still possible to amass a fortune of millions. At the same time it appeals to the sense of justice because it prohibits the kind of wealth which transcends the limits of the middle class mind. Without denying that it is possible to use political society for the purpose of equalizing some of the inequalities of economic society, through high taxation for instance, it is obvious that such programs are highly fantastic as serious proposals for the convalescence of a sick society.

Third, all such programs intend to reach their ends by maximizing the power of the political state. Increase of state power is always a perilous proposition. It is particularly dangerous in a society in which the old concentrations of economic power remain, for they always bend the political power to their uses. The Hitlers of our era gain their political power by compounding the political resentments of the lower middle classes and then use it in the service of the Schachts and Thyssens. They might be more honest than they are and that would still be the result. Economic power, the power to control social process, is the most significant power in a technical age. The oligarchs who possess it can always bring a political oligarch to heel, no matter how loud his pretensions or how honest his sympathies for the poor who gave him political eminence. This is what gives such poignant pathos to middle class politics in our era, whether in Germany or America. Incidentally, we need not wait for Long to observe its logic and its consequence. We can observe it quite well in President Roosevelt's drift to the right. Mr. Roosevelt merely represents the less desperate and the not-yet desperate middle classes. But his liberal and radical pretensions evaporate when the commercial and industrial oligarchy threatens to retard his plans for recovery by non-cooperation.

So much for a brief political and economic analysis of fascist trends. What is of particular importance to religious leaders is the fateful charm which fascist programs seem to exercise upon the people of the churches. The German church would have accepted fascism without question if the latter had not been so unwise as to use a new racial religion as the cement of its social cohesion.

The susceptibility of church people to fascism derives more from the fact that they are middle class people than that they are religious. Nevertheless Long, Coughlin and Hitler all know how to clothe their political ideas in Christian terms. They appeal to Christian ideals of social justice and they defend the Christian religion against its radical detractors. Their ideals of social justice appeal to religious people not only because they are clothed in religious terms but because they do not deal with the mechanical problems of the structure of a society but remain, ostensibly, within the field of pure morals. They distinguish between good capitalists and bad capitalists and that distinction is dear to the heart of every pious moralist. It is a necessary distinction from a moral point of view but it is confusing in politics.

If fairly enlightened church people become the victims of fascist propaganda that will be partly due to the fact that Christian leadership, whether orthodox or liberal, has preached for decades on problems of social justice without understanding that justice in human society is only partly the consequence of moral intention and largely the product of adequate instruments and mechanisms of social life. A very good man can only slightly ameliorate—through philanthropy and kindness—the injustices which flow automatically from an unjust property system. Every moral problem is a religious problem in its highest reaches but it becomes a problem in social mechanics when it comes to its application.

The unwillingness or inability of religious and moral leaders to recognize this fact through all the past decades has contributed to the complete political immaturity of our middle class life and its present lack of immunity to fascist propaganda. The pitiful lack of sophistication with which the Buchman movement deals with social and political problems and the pious individualistic moralism which it introduces into the complex issues of social justice and war and peace is a

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striking example of this limitation in our religious life. That Buchmanism should rise to prestige and power in the very period in which the social confusion and the political peril of middle class life is most acute is an ironic phenomenon in our religious history.

The fascist defense of religion against its radical critics and detractors is a natural source of strength to it in the religious world. It is obviously not genuinely interested in the maintenance of Christian values. It is only shrewdly aware of the fact that historic religions still have power in the western world and it therefore seeks to harness this force to its political chariot.

Fascism is helped in this game by a fateful error in the radical movement. Western radicalism is informed by Marxist philosophy. There is no political realism in the modern world which is not indebted to Marxism. It has helped us to see clearly what we ought always to have seen, namely, the realities of the social struggle and the basic character of the organization of production to the whole problem of justice. But unfortunately Marxism insists that its obvious truths can be recognized only by those who have divested themselves of religion. This is an obvious absurdity, particularly since it knows quite well that the highly secular, liberal, bourgeois culture of capitalism has no superior insights into the problems of justice because it is irreligious. It is a prejudice growing out of the rationalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The fanatic irreligion of Marxism is in fact a viewpoint which it ironically inherited from a dying bourgeois culture and which that culture used to fight its early victorious battle against a religiously oriented feudalism.

Fortunately, outside of the communist party, the irreligion of Marxism in this country is not yet a settled dogma. Most of the radical leaders of America have, in fact, come out of the church. Religious people therefore have much less reason to be tempted into the arms of fascistic reaction in the effort to flee anti-religious radicalism, than they had in Europe. Even if the reasons were stronger than they are, a genuine prophetic religion will fear the corruption of fascism more than the enmity of the radical. The latter is animated by genuine aspirations of social justice and the former is as cynical about religion as Napoleon. In the case of Father Coughlin the cynicism may be lacking but in its stead there is a dangerous naivete about the relation of religious ideals of social justice to the facts of modern politics and economics.

It is probably too late to save a good part of the American church world from fascistic influence. But it is not too late to save the portion in which a certain degree of political sophistication and economic realism accompanies moral idealism. But if that portion of the church is to be effective it ought to realize that the politics of Huey Long and Father Coughlin spring from genuine economic grievances of the lower middle classes. These grievances can be harnessed to constructive political programs only if the religious passion for justice is implemented by a thorough analysis of the politics and economics of our era. Such an analysis is bound to prove that the workers, farmers and lower middle classes are common victims of a disintegrating economy and therefore natural allies, whatever cultural gulfs may divide them. If that lesson is not learned, our middle class will suffer the fate of the German middle class even if our fascism should turn out to be less terroristic than the German variety.

In Defense of Committees

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am moved to say a good word for committees. Not for all committees; some are only used as ways of escape from responsibilities; ten men who do not know individually what should be done, meet together and afterwards declare that they have referred the matter to a sub-committee. Not for that do I speak; but for some committees a stout defense shall be made.

The natural man says frankly that he prefers a committee of two with one permanently absent. But that natural man, if he is thinking of action to be taken by a society, must be assuming the part of an autocrat who makes decisions himself which commit others. In other words he wants to have his own way. His to command, the others to obey! And who, pray, is this natural man?

He is an egoist; whether he likes it or not, he should be told this to his face. He will answer that Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar and Cromwell and Livingstone did not believe in committees. Perhaps they did not and perhaps also they might have been the better for a little more teamwork. But whether that is so or not, who is this man who claims the privileges of an Alexander or a H-tl-r? He disdains committees, does he? Then he declares in effect that he is independent of his fellows and needs no wisdom of theirs and means to decide for himself what he and all his shall do. He may think so, but why should I agree with him?

A committee may be a team working together merrily and even hilariously. They may discover things together; they may plan vast collective enterprises; they may go forth each with the wisdom and grace of all the others added to his own.

There are, however, rules, only a few, but necessary, to be kept in committees. Let no man come to a committee prepared to resign if he does not have his way. Let no one come with complete plans up his sleeve. Let it be made clear that it is not necessary for a thing to be said more than once or twice at the most. Let the members be so far friends that they need not be too guarded in their language and can blackguard each other as freely as they do in any well-ordered family. Let every one be banished from the crew who does not pull his weight.

I am all for committees, though it should be clear that I do not want many of them. A few and good!

As you justly observe, there is the highest precedent for this belief. The Christian church began as a committee, a somewhat large one, but still a committee.

Yours in hatred of autocracy,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

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California's Red Trial

By Lawrence Wilson

FIFTEEN alleged communists are being tried in Sacramento for violation of California's criminal syndicalism law. If they are convicted there will be legal precedent for sending every member of the communist party in the state to the penitentiary. Under the law they may be imprisoned for from one to fourteen years.

The criminal syndicalism law was enacted during the heat of the fevered war period. It reflected the feeling over the Mooney case, which was then running at its flood. It was aimed at Tom Mooney's colleagues, the Industrial Workers of the World. The I.W.W. were then in their heyday. They were advocating and practicing "direct action." They scorned political programs. Their direct and terribly effective methods were beginning to grip Californians in a reign of terror. It was under this law that Miss Anita Whitney was sentenced to San Quentin prison, eventually to be pardoned by the governor. Under its provisions anyone found in possession of an I.W.W. card was immediately arrested. Within a few months more than one hundred men and women had been convicted and sent to prison. The law was passed to meet an extreme emergency, and it accomplished its purpose. The I.W.W. waned.

Prosecuted as Communists

The communist party had not entered the arena at that time. Its advent was not even foreseen by the sponsors of the criminal syndicalism act. The communists, committed to political action, bitterly oppose the direct actionist I.W.W., calling them "reactionary wobblies." The communist party has legal status in California. It had a ticket in the field in the last election. The names of some of those who are now being prosecuted appeared on the ballots in legal form. So if they are convicted it will be because they are members of a party which anomalously is recognized by law.

The issue on this point is clear. The defendants in the present trial are being prosecuted in effect as members of the communist party. The presiding judge, at the opening of the case, admitted as evidence the reports of speeches made by communists in Los Angeles. The defense contended that none of the accused had made any of these speeches. The judge ruled that they were admissible as evidence, however, because they tended to show the character of the communist party as a whole. The defendants are accused according to the indictment of "conspiring to overthrow the United States government by force and violence or advocating such an object by written or spoken word." No specific acts of violence are alleged. No seditious utterances are cited. The criminal syndicalism act specifies some forty offenses, going into minute particulars as to words and acts. Yet not one of these is named in the indictment.

Obviously, many more than the fifteen should be tried under the blanket indictment, or else each of the fifteen should be individually tried under separate charges.

From West Point to Prison

These defendants differ widely as to responsibility under any kind of charge. Some of them would have difficulty in saying a coherent word about communism. Some are fit subjects for a psychiatrist. A few are extremely clever, knowing exactly what they are aiming at and ruthless in their methods of attaining that aim. The leaders are well educated. One was the head of the Sacramento Workers' college. Another was a West Point cadet for three years until his expulsion for insubordination in his senior year. One of the women offers claims as a daughter of the American revolution, being a direct descendant of Matthew Thornton, a signer of the declaration of independence.

Most of them are victims of abnormally vicious conditions, their embittered attitude being perhaps a normal reaction. They have not gotten on well in polite conversation, and so they eschew courtesy and the amenities of polite circles. They make raucous "demands." When any concessions are granted to them, they claim that they have wrung them from a decadent and timorous capitalistic society through the aroused force of the working class. They have appeared to take delight in badgering the police. They have literally thumbed their noses at officials in the city hall which faces the plaza where they have been indulging in free speech. It has not been difficult for the prosecution to quote bellicose phrases from their inflamed speeches which would make it appear that a wild and bloody revolution was just around the corner. They have courted trouble at every turn. They have lain down on the railroad track and defied the train to run over them. None of them is shy of publicity. They would "divide everything but the limelight."

Frantic Farmers

The case is rooted in events of last July. The San Francisco strike attracted communists from all over the country. Scenting the opportunity for a general strike which might spread to the dimensions of a revolution, they did everything they could to foment trouble. The strike was ably handled by the unions of San Francisco. It was called off after an impressive demonstration of solidarity and before any serious damage was done. It accomplished the acceptance of arbitration by all parties. Nevertheless the communists had already gathered in large numbers and had caused no little trouble and much alarm. It was feared that they would next concentrate on the fruit and vegetable fields. Harvests were ripe, and highly perishable crops were imperiled. A delay of a few days in harvesting would mean losses running into millions. The growers, hard-pressed for a long time both from above and

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from beneath, saw the first profits in many years beginning to glimmer. They became frantic.

Under such circumstances many Californians "go forty-nine." The vigilantes rode again. They swooped down on any groups who looked suspicious. Instead of waiting even for speech, they seized men as soon as they opened their mouths. Men were carried off who claimed they had intended merely to make announcements. In Sacramento more formality and decorum was observed. The city council met one evening at seven. At seven-fifteen they had passed an ordinance forbidding meetings in the city plaza. At seven-twenty-five a formal copy of the ordinance was placed in the hands of the waiting police, and at seven-thirty the communists were arrested for violating it! Because the chief of police had received due notice that the vigilantes would raid the communist headquarters that night, he himself ordered a raid by daylight. Everyone around the premises was arrested, nearly all without warrants. They were lodged in the city jail as vagrants, and their bail was fixed at $1,000 each. They were told by the judge that their bail was so high because they were "high-class vagrants." That was on July 20. Simultaneous raids were illegally made in like fashion in various parts of California.

Political Implications

The cases in other cities were soon dropped, with the exception of that in Redwood city. That case was brought to trial, but the judge directed the jury to bring in a verdict of acquittal. In Sacramento, however, the forces behind the movement decided to prosecute vigorously. The capital city is the center of all things political. And there are focalized about this trial many implications that are political. The "vagrants" were remanded to the county jail where, because of the requirement of $6,000 property bail, they have been held since last July. Powerful financial interests put private detectives in the field and otherwise backed the prosecution. The district attorney now saw an opportunity for making political capital—or thought he saw it. He was a candidate for reelection and here was an issue ready-made! He loudly proclaimed his patriotism, and averred his undying determination to rid his fair state, or at least his county, of all and sundry of its foul enemies. But astonishingly and ironically he lost the election on this very issue. The people had scant sympathy for the communists, but they had still less for his tactics. And now he was confronted with the duty of continuing to prosecute the case he had started, for which the people had expressed their distaste, and which runs for many months beyond his term of office. His monthly salary as district attorney had been $375. But now he demanded fifty dollars a day for continuing the prosecution of the case when his term should expire. This was the price of his "patriotism." The county refused to pay any such exorbitant charge. Meantime the trial lagged.

But the state administration felt that it had a stake in the trial. So the attorney general acted under a law which allows him to prosecute a case when the public interest is jeopardized. He forthwith appointed the defeated district attorney as the legal representative of the state, since the people of the county had repudiated him. And the state undertook the payment of his salary. So the state administration is now backing the trial.

Fighting Fire with Fire

The communists also have concentrated their resources on Sacramento. To them the trial is not merely of state, but of national concern. Leo Gallagher, celebrated International Labor Defense attorney, was sent here. Albert Goldman of Chicago was sent by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense. And now the lines are drawn not on national but on international grounds. The defendants are split into Stalinite and Trotzkyite camps. Gallagher represents the orthodox followers of Stalin. Goldman was brought in by the Trotzkyites, who have carried into Sacramento their repudiation of Stalin and all his cohorts. Follow me if you can!

Fire is being fought with fire. And there is considerable crossfire. Young Communists at the Workers college were being drilled last summer by the ex-West Pointer; uniforms and guns were assigned to the state militiamen to take to their homes and keep in the rooms in which they slept. The communists announced a mass march on Sacramento; the Hearst papers emblazoned the statement that the marchers would be met at the city limits by six hundred armed vigilantes. The Young Communists became active; a counter-organization known as Young Citizens was formed. Legionnaires and others have formed the "California Cavaliers" who are to meet one thousand strong in Sacramento next month. The Elks have marshaled the antlered herd and the Eagles have plumed their wings in preparation for the anticipated fray. The D.A.R. have their daily delegation in attendance at the trial and hold frequent secret meetings. To cap it all, Aimee Semple McPherson recently had a dream "straight from God" directing her to engage in a crusade against communism. This sacred mandate she undertook under the more direct guidance of a Hollywood movie director and a professional promoter. But the $2,500 per week salary, an incident to the dream, was not forthcoming, and the vision faded. Financial backers did their best, but could raise only $75,000; and that, of course, was not enough. Laugh if you like, at a safe distance, but don't venture so much as a smile in any of these precincts!

Publicity for the Communists

Out of this serio-comic tangle, what emerges? Principally the fact that the communists are enjoying the best publicity they have received in years. The communists are being prosecuted for having allegedly said certain things, and are put in the witness box to repeat those things before the finest kind of sounding board. The trial has become a public forum for the discussion of communism. In their opening speeches the attorneys undertook to familiarize the court with communist terminology. The court was supplied with a list of words which would be used, with definitions according to Noah Webster and according to Karl Marx. Then

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followed lectures on the origin and rise of communism. The prosecution has introduced communistic books and pamphlets and has read considerable excerpts. The defense now demands the right to read each of those publications from cover to cover in order that the jury may not be left in doubt as to the context.

On the strength of the free advertising they are getting, the communists have raised large funds throughout the nation. They have received enough to be able to put up the huge bail for all the prisoners but two. Freed at last from jail, they are now going about the state on speaking tours each week. They have spoken near the entrances to several college campuses. One of them spoke to a large gathering of ministers in Berkeley who had come originally for a conference with Roger Babson! Communism is being discussed by young people in various youth groups throughout the state. Delegations of students have come from Stanford and from other universities and colleges to attend the trial. Men of international fame like John Strachey and Max Eastman have been discussing the issues before large audiences up and down the state. To illustrate how such prosecution recoils, the communist candidate for governor at the last election received something over one thousand votes, not having yet been thrust into the limelight; at the same election Miss Anita Whitney received for a minor office a vote of over one hundred thousand!

Why Not Use a Prayer Wheel?

By Morton S. Enslin

DURING the sermon on a Sunday morning about two years ago the minister used as a direful example of the sin and depravity which must inevitably follow the passing of the family altar the story of a young man who had been sentenced to a long term in the penitentiary the week before. The minister had talked with him, and retold the interview. The youth, it seems, in seeking a probable explanation for having indulged in banditry with intent to kill, had remarked, "I never heard my father pray." That was the answer. Then came the application. Think of it; he had never heard his father pray! The natural result of such parental neglect could hardly have been other. "He had never heard his father pray." At that point I lost track of the sermon; my mind wandered, as is too often the case in such moments, lulled by the occasional pulpit sobs.

"He had never heard his father pray." Well, what of it? Many Christians, myself included, could have said the same, without thereby admitting or excusing lives of crime, thus incited or encouraged, ending in the penitentiary. In fact, according to the admonitions prefixed to the Lord's prayer, where in no uncertain terms it is suggested that the proper place for prayer is neither the synagogue nor the street corner but the inner room with the door carefully shut, this tragic paternal dereliction may not have been without some support. The fact of the matter is, we do not pray. We go through the gestures, but there appears to me a decided wane in real relief in the efficacy of prayer. Family altars have gone. We can seek to explain it on any ground we choose; the stubborn fact remains.

What Were They Praying For?

In the book of Acts there is a very pointed and modern-sounding story. Agrippa I killed James and arrested Peter. Peter, however, was to be saved for greater things, and having been released miraculously from prison, hastened to his home. In the interim his friends were busy beseeching God to release Peter. As they prayed, a knock was heard on the door; Rhoda answered it, was so overjoyed at seeing Peter that she left him standing outside and ran to tell her news. The verdict of the prayer circle was, "You are mad." "But she confidently affirmed that it was even so. And they said, 'It is his angel.' But Peter continued knocking; and when they had opened, they saw him and were amazed." The question naturally rises: What were they praying for? By their attitude of skepticism they demonstrated that they did not expect an answer.

Local Immoralities

In a meeting of the Chester ministerium several years ago there was great uneasiness among the ministers about Chester's moral condition. Ribald magazines of near-art were being openly sold; Bethel court was doing a reasonably good business; a burlesque show was in operation; the strength of the police lay in sitting still. The subject of the meeting was the method of cleansing Chester. The speaker was a visiting minister who had gained for himself considerable reputation as a cleanser of Augean stables in the dirt belt of Erie. Before he spoke there was a season of prayer in which several of the more vociferous clergy informed God they were distressed by Chester's moral turpitude and were ready for any suggestions as to rectifying it. Coals hot from off the heavenly altar were requested for the lips of the speaker. Then the speaker told in a concise and straightforward manner what he had done in Erie, and made several apt suggestions for our procedure. Although I find myself loath to indulge in seeking to force people to be good, or what seems to me good—I confess there is little of the reformer in me—I had listened with interest and appreciation. I even assumed the rôle of Rhoda and told the brethren: It is Peter himself; the answer has come. But no. The rest of the session, until the ladies of the entertaining church prevailed upon us to leave Chester to her cheerful wickedness and to fortify ourselves for our noble efforts with roast chicken and sweet potatoes, was de-

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voted to advancing reasons why the suggestions could not be followed. The gist of the remarks was: It is impractical; it can't be done. I was interested to observe that the same gentlemen who had prayed for light in their darkness and a coal for the lips of the speaker spoke, in precisely the same order, to veto the suggestions. The same sentences might be appended to this paragraph which concluded the parallel story from the book of Acts.

What Is It All About?

Just what do we expect to accomplish by all this? The so-called long prayer of the non-liturgical churches is perhaps the most conspicuous example of prayer in modern life. To be sure, prayer is still used in fraternal gatherings before the ice cream is cut; and having been a chaplain for several years I can testify that extreme brevity is greatly appreciated by the brethren. It is a necessary prelude to many meals in private homes, provided a minister is present; otherwise the meal starts less formally. Any minister can attest that fact in the homes of his own relatives, where a scandalized wife interrupts her spouse, placidly beginning to eat his soup, with the words: "Why, Lucius, you have forgotten that we have a minister here today!"

In prayer meeting—or at least such was the case when I attended them—prayers were a more or less convenient means of keeping the ball rolling. When no one seemed moved by the spirit to arise to testify that they had slipped occasionally during the past week and hoped to do better before the next Friday night, and when another hymn could not be inserted, it was always possible to call upon Brother X to lead in prayer. Brothers X, Y, and Z would respond, and on the way home the youths and many of the elders would comment upon the fact that this Friday night Brother W, the superintendent of the Sunday school, had broken his record by reaching twenty-seven "Heavenly Father's" in the course of his prayer. Occasional seasons of sentence prayers could be interspersed to give a less formal tone and to encourage beginners.

The Bulwark of Prayer Life

But the pulpit prayer remains the bulwark of the prayer life. Too often it is nothing but preaching with one's eyes shut as is abundantly evidenced by the frequent lapses into the third person with reference to the deity. I have even heard a minister repeat a sentence from his prayer in the sermon with the words, "As I told you earlier in the service. . . ." It affords the opportunity of saying things one hesitates to say in direct address. It has been said, "The pulpit is six feet above contradiction." But when the eyes are closed, the possibility of contradiction is utterly removed. Every minister knows full well the difficulty of avoiding slipping into conventional set phrases and which usually end, apparently almost as an afterthought, certainly an anticlimax, when the minister and those who have listened are wearied, with the request that we be forgiven of our sins and eventually saved.

As a result the pulpit prayer has become the most useless and unprepossessing part of the service. Too often totally unprepared, repetitious, and full of truisms it provides one opportunity for many of the congregation to close their eyes without fear of discourtesy and to let their minds wander. Many of the admonitions of the sermon on the mount are today disregarded. Few more so than the words, "And in praying use not vain repetitions, as the gentiles do; for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him." In theory at least it is not the minister alone, but the minister and congregation together, who bow before God. He is privileged to speak in their behalf, or, better put, to phrase their petitions and hopes. Actually, of course, the pulpit prayer is nothing of the sort. It is as much the minister's exercise as is the sermon, and the congregation pays even less attention. It would be too optimistic to believe that any large part of them are themselves praying.

What to some has seemed a possible remedy for this totally one sided act of worship is the so-called season of silent prayer. But any opportunity for actual prayer or meditation is almost invariably prevented by the leader constantly talking in a monotone, telling the congregation what it is to pray for next. Serious prayer accompanied by a stop watch is difficult.

The Brother at Death's Door

Another conspicuous illustration of the fact that the average pulpit prayer is totally the performance of the minister is the very common roundabout and ambiguous prayer for "the brother who is even now at death's door." Sometimes it is the sister; often even the sex is obscured in the convenient "the one." Since not infrequently an usher hands up a slip to the minister just previous to the prayer, the majority of the congregation has no idea for whom the prayer is being offered; often the rest of the prayer is solely a time of anxious or curious wondering as to who "the brother," or "the sister," or the sexless "one" is. Hardly is the amen pronounced—or sung—when judicious whispered questioning seeks to settle the moot point. It would be hard to conceive a clearer relic of an outgrown—or at least commonly discarded—attitude toward the actual value of prayer than this. Most intelligent people do not expect rain to fall in answer to even the most sincere or trusting prayer. The little we know about meteorology discourages this. What is true here is equally true in the sphere of medicine. Little value is likely to come to the sick man, save perhaps as the word reaches him that his friends were saddened at his misfortune and sympathized with him. But even this solace is denied him if he learns that the majority of the sorrowers knew not for whom they sorrowed.

Nor can the members of liturgical churches smile in self-complacency. To be sure, the general quality of the written prayers is vastly higher than that of the extempore ones; yet even this advantage is canceled by the fact that the prayers are so often intoned at a speed which makes understanding of them difficult, if not impossible, save for those who know them *memoriter*. Some months ago I attended worship in St.

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Paul's in London. In spite of the fact that I sat in the front row and strained every nerve to understand the prayer, I could never make up my mind whether it was English or Latin. All I knew was I failed to understand one word. The morning's sermon was on the theme, "The Vital Place of Prayer in Modern Life."

The nub of the trouble appears to me to be found in another, perhaps greater, problem. Baldly stated: the views about God and the nature of the universe have changed. The element of petition in prayer, however carefully it may be phrased, is a relic of the day when people actually did believe that God intervened directly to aid his friends and discomfit his enemies. Prayer was a specific means to a specific end. Some years ago the newspapers carried an interesting news item. In a Pennsylvania town there was a brewery which caused much pain to the godly, especially to one fervent minister. In his morning's service he invoked God's curse upon the nefarious business, praying that it be destroyed by fire from on high. That afternoon the town suffered a terrific thunderstorm, in the course of which the brewery was struck by a bolt of lightning and consumed. The minister and many of his people saw that as a direct answer to prayer. A nice legal problem might have arisen had the brewery owner had the minister arrested for arson, for, provided the lightning had actually come as an answer to his prayer, he was as responsible for the conflagration as though he had himself applied the match.

Why was no such deduction as to cause and effect made, and appropriate legal action begun? Obviously because our changed ideas of God make it impossible for us to believe in the efficacy of our prayers as we once did. For a few elect souls there may be no difficulty. They may be able to adjust themselves to relationships with this nebulous personality, Eternal Goodness, Essence of Life, or however it may be designated; the majority of men, I believe, only fool themselves in thinking they can do it. They are like Pompey, the Roman general. In curiosity, he entered the Jewish holy of holies, expecting to see the image of Jehovah. To his amazement the room was empty. It is interesting to recall that from then on, the Romans regularly called the Jews atheists.

Here, as it appears to me, is the real reason for the decline of prayer. We go through the gestures, but we do not, cannot, expect results. Accordingly, as I see it, prayer in the conventional sense of the word is doomed as surely as burnt sacrifice and the Juggernaut car. Private meditation; a fresh taking stock of life; thanksgiving for the kindnesses we have received in not always reaping what we have sowed, moving us to a more charitable attitude toward those who have had few buffers between them and failure and disgrace—these, yes. But the expectation of getting something for nothing, or the readiness to request someone else to do what we know we ourselves ought to do—for this the bell has sounded.

Is the Copeland Bill a Fraud?

By T. Swann Harding

THE Copeland bill, S. 2800 (the final form of the so-called "Tugwell bill," S. 1944) was not acted upon by the seventy-third congress. It was not even seriously debated. In spite of this a great deal was accomplished in that congress for the cause of better food, drug, cosmetic and advertising regulation. Two public hearings were held which proved extremely informative and educational. Direct governmental propaganda for a better food and drug act aroused consumers. The somewhat agitated pressure of this aroused public opinion scared the living daylight out of unscrupulous advertisers and producers, and they actually began to clean up some of their worst iniquities of their own volition. At the same time they waged a backfire campaign of extraordinary mendacity and misrepresentation, and declared that further government regulation was not needed—a contention completely disproved in the present author's recent book, "The Popular Practice of Fraud."

On the other hand the better producers and advertisers began to find out that the bills proposed by the government were neither annihilatingly drastic nor fascistically dictatorial. These bills did not, as had been stated, make it a crime for consumers to buy aspirin without a prescription, or set up a ruthless dictatorship in the department of agriculture which stood above the law. Consequently more ethical advertisers and producers began to find their own advantage directly related to better consumer protection, and this became overt, for instance, in the rather praiseworthy advertising of E. R. Squibb in recent months.

There has also been considerable tendency in other directions for producers and distributors to consider consumer problems. The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea company has at least threatened to use quality grades on its canned goods, and even the Proprietary association has adopted some sort of advertising censorship of its own. It is quite possible that if Consumers' Research had not deflected a considerable part of liberal intellectual support from the Copeland bill at a critical moment, we should have a better food and drug law on the statute books right now.

However, that is water under the bridge. Moreover it is irrational to hope that advertisers and producers can long equitably regulate their own practices in a profit economy which holds out every inducement to more or less refined fraud. Consequently a new Copeland bill was introduced in the senate on January 3 (calendar day January 4) 1935, the first day of the seventy-fourth congress. It became S. 5. Later one or

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two other bills were introduced. The bills were the subject of many conferences in the senate committee on commerce, administrative officials often also sitting in. As a result there appeared a few days ago Committee Print No. 31, or S. 5 as it returned to the senate February 14, 1935 after a few changes. That bill will become the subject of senate hearings in the rather near future and should appear on the floor of the senate by the middle of March. What sort of bill is S. 5 now?

The Trade Fears the New Bill

Liberal intellectuals who gave the old S. 2800 too faint-hearted support to effect its passage have appeared utterly defeatist this year. They have resigned themselves with a sigh, saying that the new Copeland bill is a weak and emasculated thing, merely set up as a gesture. Some of them have actually made the incredible statement that this bill is weaker than the present food and drug law, the old Wiley bill. It is a little difficult to know just why apparently responsible people would make such a statement with the facts so readily available to them. The possibility is that the wish is father to the thought, and besides, legal language makes both difficult and fatiguing reading.

Except in one single particular S. 5 is not only stronger than the old S. 2800 (upon which it is a great improvement in every way) but it is much superior to S. 1944, the original "Tugwell bill." This fact begins to dawn upon the careful reader who turns to the trade journals after perusing the lugubrious lamentations of the defeatist liberal intellectuals. He finds there a very healthy fear that "the trade" will have to submit to the passage of a really strong law. That S. 5 is superior to the present law there can be no doubt.

It is only fair to say that the supreme court's "hot oil" decision has forced a weakening of one of the provisions originally proposed in the Tugwell bill. S.1944 was written in the customary form of new deal legislation in that it gave a wide margin of discretion to executive and administrative officials who were to effect certain broad general results without the guidance of very specific rules. For that reason S. 5 has been largely rewritten in terms of the recent decision so as to prevent it being declared unconstitutional in a possible test case after passage.

Improvements in the New Bill

But S. 5 lacks only two things that were in S. 1944. One is the provision for quality standards of foods, for which the food industry positively will not stand today. The other is the ironically objectionable provision for the voluntary inspection of factories by agents paid by the manufacturers, so that goods could go out already guaranteed under the law. The attempt to put quality standards for foods into the bill would undoubtedly defeat its passage. As to voluntary inspection, the fish and shell-fish industry demanded and secured the passage of just such an amendment to the present law in the dying days of the seventy-third congress, but it is not applied in general in S. 5.

However, the objectionable paragraph which permitted artificially colored citrus fruits to go on the market without label declaration to that effect is not in S. 5, though it appeared in old S. 2800. In addition S. 5 makes much more stringent regulations legal for protecting the sanitary surroundings in the manufacture of drugs and cosmetics; the false and misleading labeling of drugs is more effectively defined than in S. 1944; the public is better protected against the use of coal-tar colors; the definition of false advertising is more stringent, and the mechanism of enforcement is improved.

These are all improvements over the original so-called—and miscalled—"Tugwell bill." It is only necessary carefully to read and compare the bills themselves to see these things. Unfortunately many people who write with great show of authority about such matters never take the trouble to investigate the facts. By and large, S. 5 is infinitely superior to S. 1944 and to S. 2800, as well as to the earlier form of its own self, because it has been rewritten by expert legal talent in such manner as to conform to the requirements of the "hot oil" decision.

The final question is: How does S. 5 compare with the present law? S. 5 is so obviously stronger that it seems incredible that any educated person could have said that it is weaker. Yet the statement has been made in print that Senator Copeland this year introduced a weak and wishy-washy bill that is no improvement over the present Wiley law and is probably not as good. In conclusion, therefore, a comparison between S. 5 as it stands at present and the Wiley law seems in order. This will take the form of listing things S. 5 definitely *does* which the Wiley law does *not* do.

The New Bill and the Old Law

S. 5 prohibits false advertising; the present law does not. It permits the regulation of cosmetics, requiring them to be truthfully advertised, manufactured under sanitary conditions, and absolutely outlawing those injurious to health.

S. 5 prohibits traffic in foods that are dangerous to health, whereas the present law permits regulation of dangerous foods only in the event that poison is *added* to them in such way as to make the food, as usually consumed, possibly deleterious to health. S. 5 prohibits the addition of poisons, except in such instances as this cannot be avoided in production processes, or (as in seafood) where nature herself puts in some poison. Then effective poison tolerances are to be established limiting the amount of poison to the point of safety as determined by toxicologists. The use of poisonous containers is absolutely proscribed by S. 5.

S. 5 requires that not only foods but also drugs and cosmetics be prepared and handled under sanitary conditions, an addition it owes to Charles Wesley Dunn via the McCarran bill. It forbids traffic in confections containing metallic trinkets which today menace the teeth and health of children. It forbids the use of uncertified and impure coal-tar colors, and requires the declaration of added colors in all foods. It forbids slack filling and the use of deceptive containers for foods or drugs.

S. 5 provides for the promulgation of standards of identity and a reasonable standard of quality for all

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foods. The present law authorizes merely a standard of quality for certain canned foods. S. 5 requires that unstandardized foods be so labeled as to disclose their ingredients by name, except for colors or flavors which may be declared merely as such. It requires truthful and informative labels on special dietary foods.

Advertising Claims

S. 5 prohibits traffic in drugs dangerous to health under conditions of use prescribed on the labeling or in the advertising. It requires that official drugs, recognized by the U. S. Pharmacopoeia, the National Formulary, and the Homeopathic Pharmacopoeia be packaged and labeled as required by these texts, and it sets up special consumer protection against drugs liable to deterioration. It defines non-official drugs as illegal if the standard or strength varies from the standard claimed, the present law proscribing only those that fall below the standard claimed, though drugs that are too potent can be very dangerous indeed.

S. 5 requires that claims made for the therapeutic effect of drugs be sustained by demonstrable scientific facts or by substantial medical opinion. It increases the list of declarable narcotics and habit-forming drugs and provides for further additions to this list, also for warnings on labels. It forbids the advertisement of drugs or treatments said to have therapeutic effect in the treatment of cancer, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, heart and vascular diseases, "as well as any other disease perilous to the life of the individual or to the public health which may be added to this list by regulations as provided."

S. 5 makes ignorance no longer a defense for unwarranted therapeutic claims, for under the present law fraud, i.e., wilful intent to deceive, must be proved before conviction can be secured. It requires label declaration of the names of ingredients of non-official drugs, adequate directions for the use of drugs, and appropriate warnings against their consumption by children or in disease conditions where their use would be dangerous. S. 5 requires that antiseptics, disinfectants, etc., have definite germicidal power and fulfil advertising and label promises under *indicated conditions of use*, not merely in glass test tubes. It authorizes control of food production by licensing when the public health is seriously menaced and provides for factory inspection and the procurement of records needed to prove federal jurisdiction.

S. 5 authorizes executive seizure of imminently dangerous foods, drugs and cosmetics, and provides increased penalties. It exempts publishers from a charge of false advertising when they supply information leading to establishment of the identity of the advertisers. It authorizes the federal courts to enjoin repetitious offenses, and provides for the dissemination of "information regarding foods, drugs, or cosmetics in cases involving imminent danger to health or gross deception of the consumer. Nothing in this section (715) shall be construed to prohibit the secretary (of agriculture) from collecting, reporting and illustrating the results of the investigations of the department."

Will the Bill Pass?

In these various points, then, S. 5 is superior to the present law. In many ways it is superior to either old S. 1944 and S. 2800. Will it be passed? That is a question that rests with consumers and with congress. Everybody knows by now that the seventy-fourth is not the seventy-third congress by a long shot. It is a very busy and a somewhat recalcitrant congress. Though President Roosevelt has expressed himself as desiring a better food and drugs act, congress may be too busy or too indifferent.

This means in the long run that the case rests with the consumers. If liberal intellectual elements manage, as they did so successfully last session, to deflect part of consumer support from the bill, we have no reason to rail at Senator Copeland or anyone else if S. 5 is emasculated or defeated. It would be expecting too much of human nature to imagine that senators will be enthusiastic to pass a bill which consumers are too lethargic or too ignorant to support. The misinformation that has gone to consumers from sources influenced by people apparently too illiterate to read bills and laws is astonishing. What the future holds depends upon concerted and informed consumer pressure.

BOOKS

Young China, Confused but Loyal

A House Divided. *By Pearl S. Buck. John Day—Reynal & Hitchcock, $2.50.*

INEVITABLY the first question about a new novel by Mrs. Buck is this: Is it as good as "The Good Earth"? Most readers and critics thought that "Sons" was not. However that may be, I think this third volume of the trilogy is on a level with the first. If it lacks the stark simplicity which gave to the first volume its classic quality, it is because the material with which it deals is inherently complex and the questions which these complexities raise are still unanswered if not unanswerable.

In these three novels we have a representation of three generations of Chinese life. In the first, we see a peasant under the old regime becoming a prosperous land-owner by infinite toil and single-hearted devotion to the ambition for landed proprietorship. In the second, the sons of the old proprietor rise to affluence in a China shaken by political revolution, one as a war lord, another as a merchant. In the third, the children of the next generation confront the liberating and disturbing influences of foreign culture. The solidarity of the old family life is broken up, the roots which bound them to the soil are broken, jazz and movies and foreign science make their impact upon the youth, and communism starts a new revolution the ultimate results of which are still undetermined. So far as the fortunes of the central character of the story are concerned, the issue of it all is nothing more decisive than that he marries the girl. It is as though the author had said, God alone knows what will be the large-scale outcome of all this, but at any rate life will go

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on and there will be another generation which will have to take over the unfinished business of this one.

Except on a purely romantic basis, this is perhaps not a very satisfactory issue, for all the loose ends of social and cultural problems are still as loose when the story ends as they were in the middle of it, except for this one thing: Yuan has had his foreign education and has come home. He has worked with the communists and has been disillusioned. He has broken with his father, the war lord, in the days of his power and come back to him in the hour of his disaster and death, and he is more irrevocably and unalterably Chinese than ever. He does not know what the new China is going to be, but he is loyal to it. To have given any unity at all to the many colored threads that make up the fabric of such a story is an achievement possible only to one with Mrs. Buck's intimate knowledge of the materials and her great skill in style and construction. Since she professes no gift of prophecy, she does not forecast the outcome of the contact and conflict of cultures which are going on in modern China. But as an artist she portrays with great skill the nature and course of that conflict. The reader must be dull indeed who is not profoundly moved with sympathy for those who are directly implicated in it and his sympathy will be enlightened by some fresh understanding of the problems which young China has to face.

W. E. GARRISON.

Liberty Depends on Infantry!

DEMOCRACY AND MILITARY POWER. *By Silas Bent McKinley. The Vanguard Press, $3.00.*

THIS very interesting survey of war is devoted to the thesis that democracy, the power of the people, is a military power. The people rule only when for some reason it happens that infantry, in which everyone bears a part, proves superior to cavalry or other expensive instruments of the wealthy few. According to this view, the strongest foundation of democracy is the militia composed of citizens able and willing to fight; and this foundation is good only if the constant progress in field tactics and invention happens at the moment to throw the balance of power to the infantry. At other moments, when infantry is inferior in military effectiveness to cavalry or other expensive equipment, democracy disappears. The author supports his views by showing an undoubted correlation, in the various periods of European and American history, between the power of the many and the predominance of the foot-soldier in battle. He himself loves the cause of popular freedom; his stories of the deeds of the hoplites, the Swiss mountaineers and the American colonials are full of imaginative fire. But he is inclined to think that the machine gun, the tank and the airplane will prove so successful in the next war that the infantry will be helpless; and that in fact the reason the masses in Europe have so generally submitted to autocracy within the past fifteen years is their recognition of their military weakness.

This view is largely deterministic: an accident—the improvement of the rifle, the invention of the airplane, the discovery of guerilla warfare, some historical development which no human foresight can control—gives power to the people or withholds it. We can do little, in the author's opinion, to affect the outcome. This gloomy conclusion is of course no reason for rejecting the argument. Even if we are as helpless as we should be just before a planetary collision, still truth is truth. But to at least one reader the situation is not so simple. The author has too often shown correlation rather than cause. Throughout history the citizen army and democratic society coincide, it is true; but it does not always appear which has created the other, or whether both structures have not been created by a third. The author shows when he can that the cause of victory is material or technical; but in many cases we still suspect that the determining cause of victory is ideal. On the field of Nafels, for example, "something had happened to chivalry." But what was it? The only explanation given is the self-evident truth that in a contest of brute strength the strongest side wins. Could it have been the democratic idealism of the mountaineers which gave them the strength to defeat the nobles? The author does prove effectively, in his account of the Italian cities, that efficient cavalry may beat a devoted citizens' army into submission. But for Hannibal's failure in ancient Italy he shows no decisive material cause. The Roman armies, in fact, were defeated. Did technical superiority rather than patient determination make them still capable of wearing out the Carthaginian army?

It is clear, on the other hand, that in many wars factors not purely technical have been very important, and those often which arise from controlling influences of history in times of peace. It was not merely the infantry tactics of American backwoodsmen which won the Revolutionary war, but also the accident of French enmity toward the English, and the unwillingness of the English to push the war rapidly to a conclusion—itself a result of English respect for law, and therefore an ideal factor. Again, take the many recent instances of the forcible suppression of liberty in Europe, cited by the author to prove his thesis. It is not so easy to explain all these, in a breath, as due to the relative weakening of the power of the foot-soldier; certainly many influences are visible besides the improvement in machine guns. The basis of Hitler's power, for instance, is Germany's desperation. National feeling in the modern world has created hysterical fear and international injustice; and a principal cause of excessive national feeling is the dominance of great corporations, which can handle business more easily within national tariff walls. Germany, beset by relentless enemies, without hope for her economic future, has turned to a dictator, as such nations will, no matter what the relative power of the infantry happens to be at the time.

To students of history and to those anxious about the future of society, Professor McKinley's book will be very useful. It is not clear that it gives a full explanation of democracy's ebb and flow. But it does isolate and illuminate a set of causes which we have not known or have disregarded.

RALPH GOODALE.

Books in Brief

GREEN LIGHT. *By Lloyd C. Douglas. Houghton Mifflin Company, $2.50.*

Each of Mr. Douglas' novels has a main point, some principle of successful living which the story illustrates and inculcates. In "Magnificent Obsession," the secret of success was doing helpful deeds secretly. In "Forgive Us Our Trespasses," it was the forgiveness of all injuries. In "Green Light," it is the realization that one's individual life is part of a larger whole, "the long parade." In building his story around this idea it will be observed that Mr. Douglas has advanced beyond the conception of purely individual success—even though it might be success on a rather high plane—to a more socialized concept of life. In the other novels, he exhorted his readers to be socially useful and altruistic in order that they might get what they want. In this one, he exhorts them to forget what they want in order that they may be socially useful. In the others, the big secret was conveyed through a secret document, in one case written in cipher, in the other hidden in an old desk. In this one, the message is put into the personality and upon the lips of a character, Dean Harcourt—not dean of a college but dean of a cathedral. Mr. Douglas has a lively imagination—so lively indeed that it does not seem that it should be really

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necessary for him to use as many stereotypes as he does in incident and character—and he has a positive gift for the writing of dialogue. His characters are not very convincing as genuine human beings, but they can talk.

THE MODERN ENCYCLOPEDIA, *a New Library of World Knowledge. Edited by A. H. McDannald. William H. Wise & Company, $1.95.*

A one-volume encyclopedia, even of 1,334 pages, cannot be completely encyclopedic, but this one contains an immense amount of conveniently arranged information about all the kinds of things that are usually discussed in encyclopedias. There are about 20,000 entries. The articles are necessarily brief, but so far as checked they seem to be accurate.

THE MODERN HOME PHYSICIAN., *a New Encyclopedia of Medical Knowledge. Edited by Victor Robinson. William H. Wise & Company, $3.50.*

No "home physician" in the form of a dictionary of medical knowledge is to be recommended as a substitute for the services of a doctor when one is sick, but within the proper limits of its use this book has value. There is more truth than ever in the old saying that the man who is his own physician has a fool for a patient. But that is no reason why a patient who has the good sense to call a doctor when he needs one should not make himself a more intelligent patient by the use of some reference book about physiology, health and disease. This one is modern, compendious, intelligible and well illustrated.

LOVERS OF LIFE, *an Epic Biography of a Soul. By Edwards Davis. The Baker & Taylor Company, $3.00.*

This highly imaginative epic has received what seems to this reviewer extravagant praise from many persons whose opinions are entitled to respect. Its theme is the struggle of the soul against its inherent weaknesses and the unfriendly environment of a turbulent and selfish social order. The time represented is that of the "collapse of predacious capitalism, 1985 *circe*" (sic). The characters bear the names of Agamemnon, Daedalus, Cadmus and other ancients reincarnated at this future time. The level of thought is high. The level of the poetry seems not so high. It does not seem to me that the company of Homer, Dante and Shakespeare has been augmented by the advent of a new equal, as one enthusiast announces.

CORRESPONDENCE

Anti-Vivisection

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am sorry to notice a note by Mr. Holman accepting at face value the impressions conveyed about vivisection by the recent apologists for it. He uses the words: ". . . and provided demonstrations to show how mercifully all such experimentation is conducted. Animals are anesthetized for operations just as are human beings." I will send him, in your care, a few excerpts from medical journals to show some of the ingenious, long-continued malformations, poisonings, infections, and other torments to which animals are subjected. At present I have with me only a pamphlet recently quoted from the Journal of Experimental Medicine, which I enclose. I wish with all the heart and soul of one to whom from early years the facts have been somewhat known—a forty years' acquaintance with them—that the experiments I enclose the account of were an exception. The remembrance of horrors which were also quoted from the accounts by the experimenters themselves (we have no other sources) arise in my memory; the ulcers raised in the eyes of rabbits, the corroded nickels sewed into the intestines of dogs—or was it some other organ?—to inflame them; the animals killed by fatigue, in treadmills in which they were run to death; and the careful, scientific making difficult the act of giving birth, so that some of the pregnant dogs subjected to this expired in the fruitless effort to let their puppies live. You will see from these samples how little connection such experiments can have with anesthetics, and just about how "merciful" they can be. If you or I were to be implanted with cancer, of how much use to us would be anesthesia during the planting of the diseased matter in our bodies?

Of course there are in the practice of vivisection a great many experiments which are not severely painful, which you or I could endure in our own bodies. Were its defenders willing to let a law pass which would restrict vivisection to these, we should be unspeakably grateful.

William James, a few years before he died, wrote a letter to the New York Evening Post on this subject, in which he criticized both the anti-vivisectionists and the defenders of vivisection, saying that we were often vexatious and sometimes untruthful; and that the defenders of the practice were also not entirely to be trusted—that the defenders of any practice under fire never were to be entirely trusted; and that nobody familiar with laboratories was ignorant of the callousness, cruelty and cynicism which were to be found there; finally, he said that in the present state of things our agitation was absolutely necessary, until experimenters should realize that "there was a God in Israel" to whom they owed account.

There is one other field in which vivisection is being used—it is by the war department. I wrote last summer several letters to the department inquiring about this. To my first letter an answer came which might easily have led one to believe no such experiments were being made by the department. To make sure, however, I asked for a categorical statement that none were being made. To this an answer was returned which seemed to imply that they were only being used occasionally. Once more I inquired about how much of it was being done, how many animals it involved, what sort of experiments, etc. The final answer was that no information would be given. A few years ago, it seemed certain that the government maintained a large preserve of animals for this purpose, that it was at Edgewood, Maryland, and that one at least of the S.P.C.A. bodies in New Jersey was giving its homeless dogs for experiments in gas and flame, etc. One can imagine how useful vivisection might be in developing chemical warfare in all its gruesome possibilities.

I am glad Mr. Holman referred to the fur trade in his item about vivisection. The anti-vivisectionists in general I think seldom wear fur; they are well aware how horrible is the steel trap, and anxious to do all in their power to abolish it. To be sure, some fur isn't obtained by trapping. That from fur farms and such fur as pony skin, etc., are not so cruelly procured. I hope you mean to support laws against the steel trap whenever they are put forward. A few states have made it illegal.

Arlington, Vt. SARAH N. CLEGHORN.

Pro-Experimentation

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am glad Mr. Holman has informed the readers of The Christian Century that all operations on animals in research laboratories are conducted under the influence of anesthesia. This corrects the erroneous implication of the term "vivisection," which today is a propaganda word. Medical scientists use the more accurate expression, animal experimentation or animal studies. However, it should be added that some animal studies must, by necessity, be conducted without anesthesia. Obviously, in studies of some diseases, as angina pectoris, pellagra, etc., anesthesia cannot be used and the animals suffer some discomfort, but, of course, never more and very probably less discomfort than a human being afflicted with such diseases. The results of such studies are among those which are most immediately applicable to the mitigation of disease in man and animals. A few animals suffer that many thousands or millions of humans and animals may not in the future suffer.

But much of the "suffering" alleged in anti-vivisection literature

is imaginary. The authors of their literature do not testify from first-hand experience, and their training does not qualify them to interpret intelligently the scientific articles they read. Hence, medical scientists are shocked by the travesties committed by anti-vivisectionists and are maligned by the tacit and openly expressed charges that animal studies are useless and conducted for personal amusement or to satisfy idle curiosity. Such a claim, however, is a necessary premise to support logically the charge that animal studies constitute cruelty and torture. This is the crux of the controversy. Medical scientists will grant that unnecessary animal studies should not be performed; neither should animal nor plant life be destroyed unless necessary.

Biological scientists insist that animal experimentation is necessary. History records the facts and predicts that if further marvelous advances are to be wrought in our ability to conserve human life and health, animal experimentation must continue.

In regard to the ethics of animal experimentation, I can understand the position of those who, like some Hindus, will never take animal life and do not eat meat, wear woolen clothing or furs, or even kill a mosquito. I prefer the positive ethical principle of Jesus: "How much then is a man of more value than a sheep." Thus is stated the ethical primacy of the higher. It is ethically right, and, I believe, the duty of scientists, to obtain knowledge by animal experimentation when that knowledge promises to be useful in the prevention of human suffering and in the prolongation of human life. Certainly it cannot be immoral to use animals to mitigate human woe!

William James, viewing animal experimentation from the hypothetical perspective of the dog, wrote: "If his poor, benighted mind could only be made to catch a glimpse of the human intention, all that is heroic in him would religiously acquiesce." We who know the great benefits coming from these intentions do homage to the dog from whence they come.

Medical School, A. C. IVY.
Northwestern University.

Help for a Victim of Arkansas Justice

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The Rev. Claude C. Williams, in whose behalf the Fellowship of Socialist Christians made an appeal to Christian Century readers some time ago, has been convicted to a 90-day jail term by a court in Arkansas on the charge of barratry (a barrater is one who incites and maintains suits and quarrels, a disturber of the peace and a spreader of rumor and calumnies). Mr. Williams has been active in organizing the share-croppers and other workers in Arkansas, and is a victim of the reactionary influences who seem to control the courts of Arkansas. He was convicted in five minutes without a defense witness being heard.

Howard Kester has already appealed to the readers of The Christian Century for help for the various young men who, in the process of organizing the share-croppers, have become victims of Arkansas justice. The Fellowship of Socialist Christians has assumed special responsibility for the work of Claude Williams and has given him monthly support. But more help is needed. We feel that he has a special claim on all those who are interested in the application of Christianity to problems of social justice. Checks may be sent either to our treasurer, Mrs. Evelyn O. Young, 157 Montague Street, Brooklyn, New York, or to Mrs. Claude C. Williams, 1200 North 13th Street, Fort Smith, Arkansas.

3041 Broadway, REINHOLD NIEBUHR.
New York city.

Conscience and the Supreme Court

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In thinking of the decision of the supreme court in the "conscience" cases, we are apt to recall the high personal character of the judges, and perhaps to remind ourselves that such good men can hardly be wrong. We may even wonder if some of them are not individually of the same pacifist or near-pacifist opinions as those whose pleas they deny. We forget that even a supreme court is necessarily the mouthpiece of the society which creates it, and must speak for it rather than for the consciences of individuals. In that latter realm the court has literally "no jurisdiction," and we ourselves are foolish if we look to it for guidance in such a realm. There never has been a generation in which the state as an organic body has come anywhere near a Christian standard of ethics, and we need not expect it in our generation.

Albert Sweitzer expresses the principle of the thing very clearly in his volume "Civilization and Ethics," and his words are applicable to our present situation: "When the individual is faced with the alternative of having to sacrifice in some way or another the happiness or the existence of another, or else to bear the loss himself, he is in a position to obey the demands of ethics and to choose the latter. But society, thinking impersonally and pursuing its aims impersonally, does not allow the same weight of consideration for the happiness or the existence of an individual. In principle humaneness is not an item in its ethic. But individuals come continually into the position of being in one way or another executive organs of society, and then the conflict between the two points of view becomes active. That this may always be decided in its own favor, society exerts itself to limit as closely as possible the authority of the ethic of personality, although inwardly it has to recognize its superiority. It wants to have servants who will never oppose it."

White Plains, N. Y. C. SUMNER OSGOOD.

The Hauptmann Jury

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The following is a sentence from an editorial discussing the results of the Hauptmann trial at Flemington in the current issue of what you call a journal of religion: "The jury performed its duty creditably during the trial; its verdict showed a desire to pass judgment on the basis of the testimony rather than the working of such emotional factors as often discredit the jury system." In other words, it is the right thing and the Christian thing for the state to murder an individual in return for a murder. Hauptmann murdered the Lindbergh baby, and now the state is going to murder Hauptmann. Of course, I am only a layman. But in all my years on this earth, I have never heard Jesus quoted as one condoning murder in any form or by any person or state. Yet you, a journal of religion, tell us that "the jury performed its duty creditably during the trial"—condemning a man to be murdered.

In Matthew 5:38-40 Jesus said: "Ye have heard it said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil: but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." To me there seems to be quite a discrepancy in the Christianity that Jesus teaches and the Christianity that was taught by the Hauptmann jury and which you condone. I am mindful of the fact that in order to serve on that jury one must believe in capital punishment, but why should a journal of religion condone murder? In my opinion, the trial at Flemington was an excellent opportunity for a journal of religion to launch a vigorous attack on capital punishment, something that can never be defended in the light of Christian teaching.

East Rochester, N. Y. ALEX MILNE.

[Our correspondent misses the point. Approval was given not to the sentence, with which the jury had nothing to do, but to the manner in which the verdict was apparently reached. The question as to whether capital punishment should be the sentence imposed after conviction for first degree murder is a matter for decision by the people of New Jersey, acting through their representatives, not for a jury to pass on.—THE EDITORS.]

Catholic "Tolerance" in Austria

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your editorial of January 9 entitled "Behind Austria's Church Changes" refers to the astonishing growth of Protestantism in Austria. There has been a new development in this respect, which may interest your constituency. Dr. Rudolf K. Kinsky, an Austrian convert to Protestantism, who is temporarily in Prague as the reporter of a Swedish paper, spoke here before a

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select group of Protestant leaders. Referring to the most recent turn of the church membership in Austria, he interpreted the ascendancy of the Chancellor Dollfuss' group in Austria as a victory of Romanism, and cited the "Reichspost" of December 11, 1934, as proof of a terrible oppression of conscience, instituted by the new regime.

This issue of the central organ of the Catholic party, now in power, admits that at the beginning of the month of December there occurred the first six cases in which persons were sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment for having left the Roman Catholic church. Many in Austria, said Dr. Kinsky, had become dissatisfied with the dictatorship of the centrist party now in power, and were leaving the Roman Catholic church by way of protest. In order to stop this, the government ordered those desiring to leave the Church of Rome to undergo an examination as to their mental sanity. When this deterrent did not stop the leakage, the government resorted to a direct prohibition of church membership changes, inflicting a sentence of six weeks' arrest upon those who transgressed this law. The law is modified, to be sure, by the proviso that this punishment is to be inflicted only upon those who are resorting to this change as a political demonstration. When it is known, however, that since the ascendancy of the present regime the decision in these matters is not in the hands of competent judges, but of the police commissioners, it will be seen that such a law makes changes of one's church membership possible only at the risk of imprisonment, and becomes thus a very effective barrier to what threatened to become a mass-movement away from the Church of Rome.

This is perhaps the most recent illustration of how this old historic church, which knew how to use the arm of the state in controlling the masses during the middle ages, is still willing to resort to these tactics when in power.

Prague, Czechoslovakia. J. P. Bartak.

Catholic Demands on Mexico

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: A leading Knight of Columbus has recently stated publicly that for the coming year that organization will devote itself to arousing the whole American people to action against Mexico. And this knight added that the K. of C. organization had never yet failed in anything it undertook.

In Boston recently Rev. Russell M. Sullivan of Boston (Catholic) college announced the formation of a college council that is expected to have a membership of 700,000 Catholics in Massachusetts, "for the exertion of united strength." This strength will undoubtedly be used to inflame non-Catholics against Mexico, in the name of religion. This is to be accomplished by inducing non-Catholic religious Americans to join the Catholics in their crusade against Mexico and its government. If successful, it will greatly strengthen the power of the Catholic priesthood in this country, and equally diminish the strength of the Americans who believe that a highly organized clerical body, directed by a foreigner, should not be allowed to embroil the United States with a friendly neighbor nation.

The purpose of this alien intervention is to keep education of the Mexican masses under control of priests. In answer to those who desire our "investigation" of Mexico, with possible intervention there as the goal, we need only point to the fact that about three-fourths of the American people have rejected the intervention of priests in their public educational system. This great majority of Americans are immovably certain that non-clerical education is convincingly superior to any other. Then why do we not encourage, and as far as we may assist, the Mexican leaders in their effort to inaugurate our majority form of education there?

And is it not a strange phenomenon that if the Catholic statement is correct, many Protestant ministers are cooperating with the Catholic clergy to rivet clerical education, rejected here, on the Mexican masses? If they were faithful to the principles on which the Protestant church was founded, they would be defending those principles, rather than repudiating them.

Mutual good will between American Protestants and Catholics is very desirable; but it requires reciprocity. The Catholics should render as much good will as they desire to receive, which in this instance means that they should not expect American Protestants to defend clerical schools in a neighbor nation.

There remains to mention the strikingly large number of unchurched Americans, representing almost if not quite as many as the Protestants and Catholics combined. These, I think almost to a person oppose the present anti-Mexican propaganda, and resent the domineering demand on Washington to investigate Mexico, an insult that might even lead to war.

Boston, Mass. Morrison I. Swift.

Hands Off in Mexico

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: "Who Threatens Liberty In Mexico?" seems to me the most sane and sensible statement of the church situation in Mexico that I have seen. Many of us find no inclination to become excited over imperiled religious liberty in that distraught country. While we believe heartily in religious freedom, and deplore intolerance, yet we do not find the Catholic church's pleading very convincing in the light of its own past intolerance in Mexico. Undoubtedly the state has gone a little too far in its swing from church domination, but the pendulum will return, and it seems to me that religious liberty can best be advanced by a hands-off attitude north of the Rio Grande.

Newburg, Iowa. W. B. Wilson.

The Question Box

What is the Christian of today to do with the oldest and classic example of psychic communication in the sacred writings—the case of King Saul and the woman of Endor? This passage in I Samuel 28:7-20 is a straightforward record of one applying to a "medium," receiving a "message" from the prophet Samuel, now long time dead, and seeing the fulfilment of the "psychic prophecy" the very next day. What is the explanation of this narrative?—T. F. O., Olney, Md.

THE incident cited is an indication of the very old practice of spiritism on the part of Israel as well as of other peoples of the age, who resorted to necromancy in the attempt to secure information regarding the future. Under the influence of Samuel and other prophets efforts had been made to purge the land of these fraudulent pretenders. It was the belief among the Hebrews that of all forms of divination, dreams and the use of the sacred stone, called urim and thummim, were alone legitimate. Failing answers by these means Saul is represented as resorting to the employment of a woman who practiced the devices of commerce with the dead.

Several questions are suggested by this narrative. Was the prophetic author, who was manifestly strongly critical of Saul's kingship and conduct and was an earnest partisan of David's dynasty, anxious to throw discredit upon Saul by telling this story of his resort to an illicit practice in disregard of his own stringent prohibition? It will be noticed that the entire situation was in the hands of the medium. Saul asked for a message from Samuel; she evoked or pretended to evoke the spirit of the prophet. Saul saw and heard nothing save what the woman, who evidently recognized the king and knew all the circumstances, chose to tell him. There was every opportunity for her to practice on the credulity of the distraught king as so-called mediums have victimized their clients in every generation and every nation. It may indeed be the fact that the entire narrative is a piece of prophetic folk lore intended to justify further the displacement of Saul and his family and the substitution of David and his line.

The pressure of prophetic teaching was constantly exercised against commerce with discarnate spirits. Of this prophetic attitude there are many instances in the scriptures, none more urgent and explicit than that found in the words of Isaiah, the greatest of the prophets—"When they say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits and unto the wizards, that chirp and that mutter; should not a people seek unto their God? On behalf of the living should they seek unto the dead? To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this word surely there is no morning for them." (Isaiah 8:19, 20.) H. L. W.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

South's Mountain Problems Faced

Institute in Kentucky Hill Region Calls for TVA Program and End to Denominational Church Rivalry

(Special Correspondence)

BARBOURVILLE, KY., Feb. 28.—Among the marginal people of the hills in southeastern Kentucky, depression has worked frightful havoc. Already close to the edge of subsistence, they have been pushed over into a demoralization which is worrying civic leaders in the upper Cumberland valley. At least two actions of importance looking toward the remedy of these conditions emerged from the third annual Institute of Public Affairs for Southeastern Kentucky held at Union college here Feb. 25. The first is a proposal for unification in the various federal projects among the 27 hill counties of Kentucky, patterned on the TVA. The second is a vigorous attempt to overlap the boundaries of denominationalism in the mountains, the historic and hereditary stronghold of denominational rivalries.

* * *

Speakers Agree Federal Aid Undermines Morale

Three men made outstanding contributions to the thinking of 200 or more persons —besides students of Union college—gathered here for the institute: Dr. W. J. Hutchins, president of Berea college, Bruce Poundstone of the University of Kentucky at Lexington, now on leave to be consultant in land use to the state planning board, and Earl Mayhew of Louisville—formerly of this city—director of rehabilitation for the Kentucky Emergency Relief commission.

All speakers were agreed that federal relief, as too much of it has been administered in the mountains, unrelated to work or to any constructive community life, is simply destroying the morale of mountain folk. "Continued relief, of this sort," said Dr. Hutchins, "will kill personal and community morality." Mr. Mayhew noted "loss of health, unsound social attitudes, an increased birth rate due to idleness, loss of morale, and increase of dependency."

* * *

Relocating Mountain Families Presents Huge Problem

Mr. Poundstone presented a wealth of statistical information relating to the use of land in 27 mountain counties of southeastern Kentucky. Virgin forests once covered almost all this land. Now they cover from 5 to 10 per cent, the baneful result of exploitation. Lands listed as "unimproved" decrease continually. This fact should lead to corresponding increase in the acreage of harvested crops, but there is no such increase. These lands which tend to disappear in statistical reports are the worn-out fields left after improper farming, heavy rainfall, denuded forests, and the wasteful slashings of the coal companies have done their work.

There has been much talk in the hills of relocating families on more fertile bottom lands. There are several obstacles. First is the increasing prevalence of floods on these bottoms—a trend which is worrying even the larger towns. Second is the rapid increase of population. If it were desired even to hold population steady in 27 hill counties of Kentucky, Mr. Poundstone pointed out, 12,000 persons would have to be moved out every year. If these were the right persons, mature youth, ready to found families, the result would be beneficial; but the size of the problem overstrains any possible plan for mass emigration.

* * *

Mountain Youth Turns from Old Style Religion

Specifically religious aspects of the situation occupied the morning. The Rev. Mark J. Andrews of Harlan discussed the church in the mining camp realistically. Both Dr. Andrews and the Rev. F. H. DeJong, director of the Annville mission, at McKee, an enthusiastic young mountain missionary, agreed that youth in the hills is breaking away from the conservative and emotionally extravagant forms of religion which has held this region for generations. Highways, automobiles, the public schools, the press, the radio, and other modern factors are destroying the old isolation of the hills.

It is these very factors which, in the opinion of Dr. John O. Gross, president of Union college, force cooperation between the denominations. He introduced the resolution pledging the group to do their best at this point. To next year's institute will be invited the highest national missions executives of all the major Protestant denominations in the hills, not to speak, but to listen to the local estimate of the situation and to see what can be done toward greater comity and cooperation.

The affair closed with a dinner. The Institute was sponsored by the college and by the Schoolmasters' club of the Upper Cumberland valley. Kiwanians gave valuable support.

MIRON A. MORRILL.

Dr. Laubach Prepares Alphabet Charts for India

On his way to America for furlough, Dr. Frank C. Laubach of the Philippine islands, famous for his invention of an alphabet for the Moros, will spend three months working out similar charts in India, where 300 million people cannot read. From there he goes to Turkey to help start a literacy campaign in the Arabic language.

Alcoholic Patients Crowd Hospitals

During the first eleven months of 1934 there was an increase of about 34 per cent in the number of patients admitted for the treatment of alcoholism in 27 typical hospitals of the country as compared with the eleven month period of 1933. The famous Keeley institute at Dwight, Ill., received 723 patients during 1934 as against 516 during 1933. This institute now operates ten branch hospitals throughout the country.

Scores Effort To Cut Debts

Appeal from Detroit Churches to RFC Brings Rebuke from Congregational Pastor—To Edit 'World Call'

(Correspondence from Michigan)

DETROIT, Feb. 26.—The only Detroit minister to raise his voice in protest against the action of a group of churchmen representing various denominations who went to Washington and memorialized Mr. Jesse Jones of the RFC for a reduction of the staggering debts on Detroit churches was the Rev. Charles Haven Myers of the North Woodward Congregational church. In a Sunday morning sermon which was broadcast over radio, Dr. Myers said: "Though the interest rate in many instances may be too high, though the exactions of receiverships may be, in some cases, so unfair as to require readjustments, though it may be many years before churches can liquidate their indebtedness, the present demand for reduction of church mortgages, if it should be recognized, would violate a fundamental moral principle. Who will pay the debts if they are not paid by the churches? The burden must fall upon society through taxation or upon the depositors and stockholders of the banks. Thus there arises an occasion where the churches may be tempted to do the expedient thing rather than the honest thing. However costly it may be, let the churches proclaim to the world, 'We always pay our debts.'"

* * *

Grand Rapids Pastor to Edit World Call

Rev. George Walker Buckner, jr., pastor of Central Church of Christ, Grand Rapids, has been chosen editor-in-chief of the World Call, international magazine of the Disciples of Christ, published in Indiana. Dr. Buckner's ministry in Michigan has been notable because of his friendly spirit, excellent sermons, and interest in civic affairs. He served as president of the Grand Rapids ministerial association and was an active member of Rotary and the Torch clubs. He will be missed in his city and the state.

* * *

"Everyman" to be Given in Grand Rapids Church

At Fountain Street Baptist church, Grand Rapids, the ancient morality play "Everyman" is to be presented late in March by the young people of the congregation. The church edifice, widely publicized throughout the country for its famous windows and murals, furnishes an ideal setting for this greatest of all the religious dramas; and the appointment of Miss Amy Loomis, distinguished Michigan actress and director, long associated with the young people's activities of the church, as director of the undertaking, assures its artistic dignity. A special feature of the production will be the singing of authentic plain-song and Gregorian hymns by a chorus of men's voices to be selected from the choir of the church

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under the direction of Emory L. Gallup, choirmaster, who is one of the leading authorities on liturgic music in this country.

* * *

Takes Congregational Pulpit In La Grange, Ill.

Another Grand Rapids preacher, Rev. E. Paul Sylvester, for six years successful pastor of the Second Congregational church there, has been called to the First Congregational church at LaGrange, Ill., and took up his work at that place Feb. 1.

* * *

Schools of Religion In Many Churches

This is the season for schools of religion in the churches of this city, and they are growing in numbers and importance. The Metropolitan Methodist school, with an enrolment of nearly 1,000, has been functioning annually for several years; Westminster Presbyterian has put on the second series of church nights with six sessions each, Wednesday evenings, continuing to April 3; Central Woodward Christian's 1935 school of religion includes in its faculty Rabbi Leon Fram, of Temple Beth-el, and the editor of the Michigan Christian Advocate, Dr. W. E. Phelps.

* * *

Catholics Hold Press Exhibit

The first annual Catholic press exhibit is housed in the Book building, which stands on the site of the old print shop where the Michigan Catholic, weekly newspaper of the diocese of Detroit, was published for many years. Thirty-four weeklies and one daily Catholic newspaper are included in the exhibit.

* * *

And So Forth

Dr. Joseph Fort Newton, of St. James's church, Philadelphia, spoke to three great audiences in this city recently, preaching at Central Woodward Christian church at a morning service, the North Woodward united service at the Congregational church in the evening, and at the annual Washington and Lincoln dinner at Central Woodward, Monday evening, Feb. 11.

The Detroit council of churches announces an impressive list of speakers for the pre-Easter services, among others Charles R. Brown, A. W. Bevan, J. W. Nixon, H. H. Savage, and Bishop G. C. Stewart. The executive secretary of the council, Dr. Ralph C. McAfee, is a buoyant leader. EDGAR DEWITT JONES.

Protest Senate Investigation of Religious Persecution in Mexico

Declaring that the proposal of Senator Borah for an investigation by the U. S. senate of alleged religious persecutions in Mexico is "an unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of a friendly nation," the executive committee of the Methodist board of foreign missions has adopted resolutions opposing such investigation and urging the senate committee on foreign relations to defeat the measure. The resolutions, which were presented to the executive committee by Ralph E. Diffendorfer, one of the corresponding secretaries, declared that the struggle of Mexico is "against the threefold tyranny of landed aristocracy, foreign interference and a dominant state church," and that, when understood, this struggle will have the support of the American people.

Chinese Tension Is Unrelieved

Japan Proposes to Insure Peace but Ousts Chinese from Mongolia—Does China Need a Dictator?

(Correspondence from China)

SHANGHAI, Feb. 10.—Our atmosphere is full of electric tensions which may mean much or little. In two places in the far northwest the Japanese are active, apparently still settling what is their "life line." One corner of Jehol is in dispute. A fracas has occurred on the border of the Mongolias. In both cases there was some fighting. There is much talk of some 3,000 "cases" that Japan intends to present to China for settlement. Likewise there are reports of Japan's desire to get China's cooperation in a scheme that may eventually put foreigners out here in their proper place. So it goes! Japan has assumed the task of securing "peace" in this part of the world. It is evident that if set up as envisaged that "peace" will be profitable in one direction mainly. But that is the way of imperialists always.

In Inner Mongolia Chinese are supplanting the Mongolian nomads. There is, therefore, irony in the fact that a new Manchurian-Japanese concern, capitalized at Yen 50,000,000, has been started to settle Japanese immigrants in five districts east of Harbin. The department of civil affairs of "Manchukuo" has ordered the Chinese residents of these districts to vacate.

* * *

Dictatorship Proposal Stirs Debate

At the moment there is quite a discussion going on among the Chinese as to whether or not China should go under a dictatorship. General Chang Hsueh-liang publicly advocated it. He encountered criticism thereby. The powers that be have declared that they do not contemplate a dictatorship and that it would be impossible in China at present anyhow. The main reason for this is probably that the different sections of China are still too loosely coordinated and too sensitive of their sectional rights to submit to any central dictatorship. They have, indeed, been chary of the loose dictatorship of the one party in power.

As to why a dictatorship would not suit China, I have noticed some interesting arguments. Dr. Hu Shih does not believe in it because there is no outstanding Chinese personality capable of assuming dictatorship, no vital problem that calls for the reasoned support of the whole Chinese people, and because the Chinese people do not have the "superior intelligence and highly specialized technique" necessary for its successful execution. China is, he asserts, "remarkably lacking in really great talent." "Democracy," he states, "is government of the kindergarten, while a modern dictatorship may be said to be the politics of graduates." Even the government of the United States he deems to be still of an elementary nature and only just now, by means of the "brain trust," beginning to feel its way to government by experts and a graduate dictatorship. He is evidently confusing the use of experts in government and the significance of a dictatorship.

Another Chinese writer of some note, C. Y. W. Meng, argues that China must first have a "strong centralized form of government or a 'dictatorship'" and then advance to a democracy. This latter Dr. Hu Shih considers the educative phase for a people still inexperienced in modern politics and so a preparatory stage for the higher form of government—a dictatorship. He argues that America has not yet "arrived" while Mr. Meng urges that China should imitate the ways of American politicians in the early days of the government. All this indicates a growing feeling that the central government must be strengthened but a lack of insight as to how that might best be done.

* * *

Military Training for All Students

I recently quoted Dr. Hu Shih as arguing that China must lay the chief emphasis on *elementary* education. A recent issue of a Peiping daily contains a letter arguing that *secondary* education is the weak spot in China's educational program. It is interesting to note that in the advance entrance examinations for the Central military academy at Nanking 8,300 students registered. Only 1,600 were permitted to take the examination. This academy is considered a privileged institution. Desire to enter it shows a leaning of modern students toward the military life. Considerable emphasis is being laid on having middle school students take the military training. A prominent Chinese Christian educator recently explained that this is more a matter of training for character than for militarism. An impartial bystander may be excused for saying, "Perhaps so!" Next spring, according to a government order, all middle school students are to take military training in central places from April to June. The relation of this order to the regular work of the curricula has occasioned some discussion. The order may in consequence be modified somewhat. Nevertheless China is moving toward military training as a part of the required education. This fits in with the declaration of Mr. Wang Ching-wei made on Jan. 6 that China must prepare herself for the war looming on the horizon. He considers that reconstruction and military defense are the imperative needs of the moment.

* * *

Churches Resolve to Press For Christian Unity

The question of church unity in China has just been reopened in a new and significant way. The standing committee on church unity of the Anglican communion invited 13 church groups to send representatives to meet with them on Jan. 23, 24. Six churches responded, the Church of Christ in China; Methodist Episcopal church; Methodist Episcopal church south; Methodist Church (English); Northern Baptist convention, and the North China Congregationalists. In all 25 were present, of whom 44 per cent were Chinese. Bishop T. K. Shen presided. A representative of each group stated the position of his group as regards organic unity. These statements were frank and revealed considerable divergence of attitude. As the conference progressed, however, there developed a unity of conviction that steps to promote church unity are both needed and

desirable. Reference was made to the South India scheme though it was not discussed at length. Considerable interest was shown, however, in the movement in England to promote groups of "Friends of Reunion." At the close of the conference, the delegates unanimously expressed their conviction in these words: "We find ourselves united in our loyalty to Jesus Christ and, in our earnest desire to become so united that the result may be an organic union of all Christian bodies, we believe that the time has come when some definite action is not only desirable but necessary." As a result it was decided to appoint a continuation committee, representing all churches present, with power to coopt. This committee is to arrange for a further conference in 1936 and to prepare and distribute literature bearing on the present situation as regards church unity.

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Government Takes Up Housing Reform

In connection with reconstruction it is interesting to note that Mr. and Mrs. Wang Ching-wei are now sponsoring a project whereby the Nanking municipality will provide housing for workers. The municipal government will provide $250,000 (silver) annually and the national treasury $100,000. Mr. and Mrs. Wang Ching-wei are to solicit donations of $50,000.

* * *

Shanghai to be Surveyed Again

Christian interest is turning somewhat to the needs of China's cities. Shanghai has a plan of cooperation whereby it is intended to have a comprehensive survey of the Christian forces at work therein and to develop eventually a united Christian program. All forms of Christian work are to be surveyed. No such comprehensive survey of Shanghai or any such inclusive program of work therein has ever before been attempted. The last survey, made 20 years ago, included only the churches. This move was initiated by the special commission on program and cooperation of the National Christian council.

FRANK RAWLINSON.

Protest Threat to Academic Freedom in Arkansas

Prominent educators have joined in a letter to the president of the Arkansas state senate expressing concern over the threat to academic freedom in the legislative investigation into the teaching at Commonwealth college at Mena, Ark. The letter was signed by Henry Pratt Fairchild, Horace Kallen, Reinhold Niebuhr, Vida D. Scudder, Clarence R. Skinner and others. Commonwealth college is a national institution whose students come from all over the country and which is supported by contributors who are interested in progressive labor education. The Civil Liberties union announces that Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel to the union, would volunteer his services to fight any attack on the college "on the ground of the character of its teachings or its participation in labor struggles."

Serves Brooklyn Church as Pastor For Half-Century

Rivington D. Lord, ordained to the ministry 50 years ago, has served one church, First Baptist, Brooklyn, N. Y., throughout the half-century.

Brotherhood Day Gains Attention

New England Meetings Win Increasing Response—Celebrate Anniversary of Armenian Translation of Bible

(Correspondence from New England)

BOSTON, March 1.—"Marvelous!" was the word by which Rabbi Samuel J. Abrams described the "Good Will meeting" held in Temple Ohabei Shalom on Feb. 26, the climax of Boston's observance of brotherhood week. The attendance was 600. Forty clergymen of different denominations were present. Mgr. M. J. Splain represented the Roman Catholic church. Bishop Charles Wesley Burns spoke for the council of churches. Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk appropriately directed the new sense of fellowship to the greatest of common problems: "The world situation—will it be peace or war?" A similar meeting was held on Sunday, Feb. 24, by the churches of Somerville, including the Greek Orthodox, in the synagogue. In deference to its custom, all men kept on their hats. The address by Prof. Elmer A. Leslie of Boston university school of theology, on the two great commands, "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself," interpreted the deeper spiritual meaning of a common worship in which all had read in unison psalms, loved and familiar, and listened to the strange cadences of Hebrew hymns sung by a cantor. Added interest was given by the fact that Rabbi Hyman J. Routtenberg had been a student in Professor Leslie's classes in the Old Testament. These meetings are only typical of many held throughout New England. Several broadcasts carried symposiums by Protestants, Catholics and Jews on the removal of prejudice to a still wider public. Interest in the annual observance of Brotherhood day is evidently growing.

* * *

1500th Anniversary of the Armenian Bible

We are accustomed to tercentenaries, but the successful and impressive celebration of the translation of the scriptures into Armenian 1,500 years ago was a unique event. It was arranged by Dr. George H. Spencer, executive secretary of the Massachusetts Bible society, in the First Evangelical Armenian church of Cambridge Feb. 17. Father Haroutoun Toumayan, of the Apostolic church, read in the ancient tongue the encyclical proclaiming a jubilee year in honor of this "Holy Translation," which was made 1,178 years before the authorized translation into English and only 30 years after the Latin Vulgate. Dr. Russell H. Stafford, of Old South church, gave the principal address, reviewing the history of the "martyr nation" which established the first national church in 303 A.D., its contributions to the Levant, and its tragic struggle to retain a foothold in its ancient territory. "To Christian Armenia, we are indebted for one of the earliest illustrations of the truth, still vital, that we must all be the people of this sacred book. When the church forgets or neglects the Bible, it will cease to be the church. God has but one word, and that is not a book but a life. We are all to be translators and give that

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(INTRODUCTION BY DR. CLOVIS G. CHAPPELL)

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word to the world in contemporary terms, to make the word flesh that men may know God in Christ."

* * *

"Religion and Revolution"

Speaking in the First Methodist church, New Haven, Conn., Dr. Edmund B. Chaffee, editor of the Presbyterian Tribune, directly met the charge of Marxians that religion is "the opiate of the people," that it diverts attention from evils here by flowery pictures of an hereafter, dulls their fighting edge by teaching love, and allies the church with the ruling classes. "Faith in the life beyond ought to give zest to the struggle for social justice, by the assurance of cosmic support. Forgiveness does not mean that the Christian will not struggle against injustice, but that the methods he uses will result in brotherhood after the conflict. The charge that the church sides with exploiters is too often true; but the most severe critics of such shortcomings are within the church itself. Religious people will always be found fighting against tyranny and struggling for social justice. Religion and revolution move hand in hand!"

* * *

And So Forth

Baptists are preparing to celebrate in 1936 the tercentenary of Roger Williams, the outstanding champion of religious liberty in the colonial period. His separation of church and state conferred a unique distinction upon Providence and Rhode Island. The celebration next year will be national and international.

The Community church of Boston is a modern example of Dr. Chaffee's thesis, having recently added to its "Peace Action council" a "Greater Boston Consumers' club," affiliated with the Cooperative Distributors, a national association.

Another illustration of the spread of the cooperative idea is Maine Coast Fisheries, Inc., suggested by a governor and promoted by the state relief administration. While its purchases for six months are less than a single day's landings at Boston fish pier, it absorbs the surplus of its members by systematic marketing in Maine cities, and, for the first time in years, these "small fishermen" have been able to sell all their catch and hundreds of dollars have weekly found their way to scattered hamlets. Similar cooperation in building a church at Monticello, Me., reduced the cost of labor to $3.75.

David R. Porter, who has been acting headmaster of Mt. Hermon school, Northfield, Mass., since the tragic death of Dr. Elliott Spear in September, has been elected to the position. Associated with the Y.M.C.A. since his graduation from Oxford in 1904, he was largely responsible for the founding and expansion of the "Hi-Y Movement." Last fall he became head of the Mt. Hermon Bible department.

At the last election, Massachusetts counties carelessly voted by large majorities to legalize betting on dog-races as well as horse-racing. But now that "parks" for the former seek licenses, there is already a bitter awakening and a protest which seems likely to lead to speedy repeal of the law.

EDWARD TALLMADGE ROOT.

Story of Peace Pact Proves Popular

Arthur C. Watkins, director of the National student forum on the Paris pact, Washington, D. C., writes that his book, "The Story of the Paris Pact" is now going into its third edition. The book has been thoroughly revised. It is the one volume which contains in brief form the story of the way the pact has been related to Japan, Manchukuo, Germany, the League of Nations and the disarmament conference during the past two years. This book of 150 pages may be secured from the National Capital Press, Washington, at 75 cents cloth and 25 cents paper-covered; special rate on 10 or more copies to schools and study groups, 10 cents, plus postage.

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Union Receives Scotch Rebuff

Diocesan Synod of Episcopal Church Votes Negotiations Must Not Start With Church of England

(Correspondence from Scotland)

WHITLEY BAY, Feb. 14.—An interesting discussion took place last week at a meeting of the diocesan synod of the Scottish Episcopal church in Dundee. (It will be remembered that the last general assembly of the Church of Scotland approved the recommendations for closer relationship between the Anglicans and Presbyterians, drawn up by a joint negotiating committee of the two national churches, on which committee there had also sat two Scottish Episcopalians and two English Presbyterians as corresponding members.) Canon MacRae of Invergowrie submitted a resolution: "It is the opinion of this synod that any negotiations for union with other churches inaugurated under the auspices of the Lambeth conference should be initiated and carried out by the national or regional church of the Anglican community immediately concerned."

Canon MacRae and his friends maintained that it was their Scottish Episcopal church and not the Church of England which was concerned with reunion in Scotland. Therefore, if their Presbyterian friends were really in earnest in their desire to heal still further unhappy divisions in Scotland, let them come to the Scottish Episcopal bishops and ask for a full and free conference about the matter. Who had invited the archbishop of Canterbury to visit the general assembly? He ought to have kept his own ground, and if their *primus* and bishops had not been perfect gentlemen, that was exactly what they would have told him when they first heard it bruited about that he was going to appear in Edinburgh. To accept any suggestion that they delegate authority to the Church of England was to commit suicide. Anglicans must not be allowed to forget that they were in Scotland by an unquestionable right of historical continuity.

* * *

Motion to Seek Action from Anglican Church Dies

Rev. L. A. Wheatley of Broughty Ferry put forward the opposing point of view that the Church of England might more dispassionately and more hopefully than themselves enter into the negotiations with the Church of Scotland, and that, therefore, these efforts should be welcomed and supported. What mattered in Scotland was reunion, and the dignity and prestige of their church was a secondary matter. He was entirely with Canon MacRae in wanting to stir up their bishops to do something, but he rather thought the Presbyterians would be more likely to concede points to the very much larger Church of England than to them. (The Scottish Episcopalians are a small denomination of about 60,000 communicants.) He also thought that the Presbyterians sometimes had cause to feel that the Episcopalians were exclusive and intransigent. If they now waited for the Presbyterians to initiate things once more, nothing much would be done. Why not

support movements in the right direction from over the border?

Unfortunately Mr. Wheatley did not secure a seconder to his amendment, so the canon's motion was carried with only 2 dissentients and is being transmitted to the college of bishops.

* * *

Mission Funds Pour In After Last-Minute Appeal

Again the Church of Scotland has been saved from retreat in its foreign mission work. The desperate need of the committee for funds was broadcast to the country through the press, and money began to flow into headquarters in quite a remarkable way. Special donations, which were high in 1933, were actually higher by £1,500 in 1934! There was no popular "threepenny bit appeal," but Principal Martin, Dr. John White and the moderator all issued appeals which had extraordinary results. Instead of the threatened deficit of £20,000 or £30,000, the deficit was only £8,600 on the year's working, and this is not bad when it is remembered that £5,000 of old funded deficit has been paid off and that the amount of capital spent in 1934 was £3,000 less than in 1933. However, it is discouraging to have to issue an S.O.S. at the end of each year.

* * *

Scottish Church Maintains Salary Levels

The minimum stipend is once more to be maintained at £350 and a manse in the four cities, and £300 and a manse elsewhere. Over £92,000 has been raised or pledged for church extension toward the goal of £180,000 set for the assembly meeting next May.

* * *

Many Faiths Join in Religious Week at University

"Religion and Life Week" has just been held in Edinburgh university. This was arranged by the students' representative council with the purpose of placing before the students the answers of the great religious faiths to modern problems. The effort has been notable, in that not only have the different branches of Christendom cooperated, but also non-Christian religions have taken part. Rev. Fr. D'Arcy, S.J., master of Campion hall, Oxford, represented the Catholics; Dr. Salis Daiches, chief rabbi of Scotland, the Jews; Mr. A. U. Ahmed of London, the Mohammedans; and Dr. Herbert Gray, Prof. Lamont, Rev. George Macleod of Govan, Rev. William Paton of the International missionary council, and others, the Protestants. The subjects included "Nationalism and Communism," "Science and Christianity," "Christianity and Sex," "Does Man need a God?" "Christianity, Politics, and Business," "The Catholic Outlook," "The Ethical Aspects of Judaism," etc.

* * *

New Principal for a St. Andrews' College

Dr. Harry Miller, an ex-moderator of the Church of Scotland, has just accepted an appointment to become principal of St. Mary's college, in the University of St. Andrews. Dr. Miller is one of the most popular leaders of the church today. He has spent all his life in the pastorate, but has also run a settlement in connection with his church in the slums of Edinburgh that is a model of its kind.

MARCUS A. SPENCER.

Bulgaria Drops Her Reformers

Idealistic Government Overthrown by Army Coup—Austria Wastes Money While Masses Lose Hope

(Correspondence from Central Europe)

SOFIA, Feb. 10.—The Sunday school class is out, and the boys have gone home. In The Christian Century of Jan. 9, the editor referred to the new régime in Bulgaria as the government of a Sunday school class. The figure of speech was not out of place, for the little group of idealists, called Zveno, then in power, reminded one of an ardent class of high-minded Sunday school scholars, without any basis of popular support, trying to run a state. They were capable, noble and earnest men, but they didn't last long. A conspiracy of captains brought them into power on May 19, 1934, and an ultimatum of colonels and generals thrust them from power on Jan. 22, 1935. Why was that? Didn't Bulgaria want good rulers? Apparently not; not too good. These men tried to change things too quickly and radically. Most of the measures they took were admirable, but, lacking popular support, even a messiah couldn't carry through useful reforms.

* * *

The Reform Program That Failed

This little group of strong willed, well read theoreticians were indignant at the political corruption that had been prevalent in Bulgaria. They disapproved of party government which had degenerated into a device for exploiting the people for the benefit of political chieftains. They called democracy, as practiced in their country, a racket for demagogues, and set out to devise a new system of government by the elite. They also opposed a sort of ultra-patriotism that found expression in a supernationalistic revolutionary organization, which caused much bloodshed and terrorized the country. They dared call these armed patriots ordinary gangsters and demanded their suppression. They also made international friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and her neighbors a very important part of their program.

They were against Marxism because they thought it turned the workers into enemies of society without bringing them any adequate advantage. They favored effective legislation in defense of labor and advocated a coercive reconciliation between the workers and their masters, based upon mutual concessions imposed by the state.

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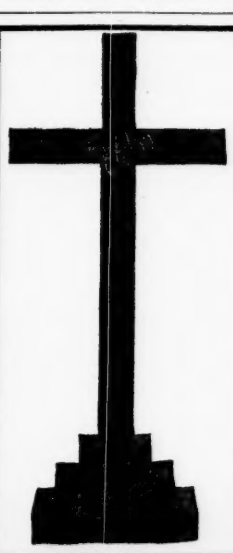

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They vehemently opposed the vociferous demagoguery of peasant party leaders who pretended to be working for the neglected villagers, but were only exploiting peasant aspirations and distress for personal advantages. They proposed a real, carefully worked out, scientific program of seed selection, stock improvement, hygiene, wise marketing and public works that would transform the villages, and they called for educated volunteers to give their lives to the villages. They advocated completely working over the antiquated, clumsy bureaucratic state administration, and creating a set of devoted, able state officials.

* * *

Why the Bulgarian Reforms Failed

This group of theoretical reformers won the support of the captains in the army, executed a revolution without bloodshed, placed the king under their control, and proclaimed to Bulgaria, "Now we are going to reform you whether you like it or not. We are the elite. We have put all the rascals out and shall bring you health, enlightenment and prosperity in spite of yourselves." They instituted a rigid military dictatorship, imposed an extremely strict censorship, abolished the revolutionary organization, sent their rabid political opponents into exile and inaugurated a system of excellent reforms. These were the best men and the most impeccably honest statesmen that have been in control of Bulgaria for decades. Moreover, they were brave, friendly and expeditious. Yet they failed.

One reason was that they were too friendly to lands that had long been enemies of Bulgaria; they were too international. Another reason was that they were too brusque with the king. In addition, their financial measures aroused powerful foreign opposition. Public opinion in Bulgaria, though expressed in a clandestine manner, became alarmingly bitter against them and the higher officers thought it best to force Zveno to retire.

Now these officers have made a predominantly military government. The generals and colonels became ministers. They said: "Zveno and the captains failed; all the political parties have failed; now we shall make Bulgaria over." But, of course, they will muddle too. They will arouse opposition and create confusion. Tomorrow some new generals will put them out.

* * *

Austria Is Shocked by Official Extravagance

The striking contrast between the abject poverty in the Austrian corporative state and the sudden lavish display of luxury by the government is causing deep dissatisfaction. The total amount of money paid to Austrian workers and intellectual employes is steadily sinking. The number of persons seeking old age relief is rapidly mounting. The consumption of most essential products is falling. The overwhelming majority of merchants say that business has reached the lowest point in years. It would be difficult to find an objective and informed observer who would not agree that there is more discouragement among the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals than there has been for a decade.

* * *

Austrian Masses Sinking Into Deeper Poverty

According to official statistics, there are 312,618 persons in Vienna with incomes of less than $7 a month. Of these, 130,000 receive less than $4 monthly. There are 51,000 families with monthly incomes under $10 each. An official publication states that a sixth of all the inhabitants of Vienna receive less than $6 monthly. And the cost of life in Vienna is higher than in America.

Furthermore, the municipality of Vienna, because of the acute crisis, has had greatly to reduce its budget and the new corporative parliament in secret sittings is working out a law reducing the sums given to the unemployed as social insurance. In addition to that, in some of the Austrian cities, the beautiful new municipal dwellings in which the poor were allowed to live for very reasonable rent, are being sold to private investors. This means that rents will be raised. Furthermore, according to a Vienna daily called Das Kleine Blatt, workers in the city of Bruck-an-der-Mur have been ordered out of municipal dwellings which they themselves helped to build with voluntary labor, in order that soldiers may be billeted there.

* * *

Is This Characteristic of A Christian State?

Yet in the face of all this, the municipality of Vienna in the beautiful and imposing Rathaus, after an interval of 21 years has just given a ball unequaled in splendor and extravagance by any entertainment given recently in central or southeast Europe. This grand entertainment was preceded by one equally costly held in the State Opera a week earlier. This has provoked clerical protest against such "provocation of the unemployed" by a government that asserts it is founding a Christian state.

R. H. MARKHAM.

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Reaffirm Faith In Prohibition

New York Anti-Saloon League Holds It Only Solution of Liquor Problem —"Father" Divine in Court

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Mar. 2.—The Anti-saloon league of this state makes no retreat on the principles of prohibition. This was made clear at the annual meeting of the board of trustees this week when this body went on record as believing that only prohibition offers an adequate and ultimate solution of the alcohol problem. The board protested vigorously against the use of the mails, the press and the radio for the widespread propaganda encouraging all classes and ages to drink. In this connection it urged active support for the Capper bill now before congress which would prohibit "the transportation in interstate commerce of advertisements of intoxicating liquors." Fred A. Victor was unanimously reelected state superintendent for another year and Dr. Donald B. MacQueen of the First Baptist church of Rochester was named president of the board of directors.

* * *

"Father" Divine Again In Court

"Father" Divine, the spectacular Negro who has attracted so much attention among the colored population of this city by his hypnotic ability to command the religious devotion of thousands, came into Judge Panken's court yesterday. This amazing man has actually persuaded a multitude to believe that he is God, but in court he thought it the better part of valor to deny his deity. Judge Panken made it clear that his court would permit no trifling on the part of "Father" Divine with the family life of his fanatical followers. The meteoric rise and power of this man is a most interesting up-to-the-minute illustration of the gullibility of masses of people. It is to be hoped that Judge Panken's hard common sense may have some sobering effect on this movement.

* * *

To Discuss Public Utilities

The City Affairs committee, which originally amassed most of the facts which led to the exposure of the Walker regime and his final removal, keeps right on the job. Next Saturday it has arranged a luncheon discussion on the subject of public utilities and it is to be expected that a fair hearing will be given to both the private and the public ownership sides of this question. Among the speakers are Maurice P. Davidson, commissioner of the department of water supply, gas and electricity, and Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the power authority of the state. Dr. John Haynes Holmes is to preside.

* * *

Green Pastures Here Again

"The Green Pastures," the famous Negro play, started another run in this city this week. Richard B. Harrison still takes the part of "De Lawd" and in spite of his phenomenal success seems unspoiled by it.

It is expected that the play will continue to attract great crowds for the publicity for this new appearance has been handled with great skill.

* * *

F.O.R. to Publish Magazine

The Fellowship of Reconciliation has begun the publication of a magazine devoted to the peace movement. The name of this periodical is Fellowship, and it is to be issued every month except July and August. The F.O.R. is making a vigorous effort to secure the release of the French conscientious objector, Philippe Vernier, who is now in prison in France. Petitions are being circulated which are to be sent to the French government.

* * *

Plan No-More-War Parade

The No-more-war parade committee has met and voted enthusiastically to hold a parade this spring as was done last. A preliminary meeting is to be held next week and at that time general plans will be discussed. The committee chairman this year is Rev. Laurence T. Hosie, pastor of the Judson Memorial Baptist church.

* * *

Summer Session At Union

Union theological seminary will hold a summer session as usual this year. It is to begin July 9 and last until Aug. 16. Courses are to be given in religious education, Christian ethics, philosophy of religion, the English Bible and other subjects. Among the instructors will be Dr. Moffatt, Dr. Niebuhr and Dr. Curry of Union, Prof. John C. Bennett of Auburn and Prof. Hugh Hartshorne of Yale. From July 9 to 26 the annual conference for ministers and other religious workers will be held. Among the outstanding leaders for this conference will be Dr. Coffin, president of Union, and Dr. Fosdick, pastor of the Riverside church.

* * *

Roland Hayes to Give Benefit Recital

The Baptist Educational center, which is situated in the heart of Harlem, the largest Negro section of the world, is planning a benefit recital for its work and has secured the services of Roland Hayes, the famous Negro tenor. This recital is to be held in Carnegie Hall on April 24.

* * *

Taxing Religious Property

The drive of the city to levy taxes on religious properties was slowed up a little this week when the appellate court in Brooklyn held that the city authorities could not levy on a building used as living quarters for the Brothers of Mary in Brooklyn. The city alleged that this property was not used exclusively for religious purposes but the court held that the city took "too narrow a view."

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Episcopalians Plan Coordination Of Youth Organizations

Plans are being considered by Episcopal leaders for the formation of a Council of Youth Organizations, which would comprise representatives of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, Girls' Friendly society and other organizations of Episcopal youth.

Emphasize Lay Training Classes

Baptists and Methodists Launch Educational Effort in Los Angeles—Many Scandals Disgrace Government

(Correspondence from Southern California)

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 29.—Two great denominations in this city are launching training conferences for lay workers during the next weeks. The Baptists, with an expected enrolment of more than 1,000 lay workers from 30 churches, are holding weekly sessions at First Baptist church, studying various phases of city church activity. The Methodists, with an expected enrolment of about the same number, are to meet for six Monday evenings at First Methodist church, in a study of the social problems facing a great city church organization. The whole problem of welfare work is to have a pretty thorough study in this Methodist group with leaders of the social agencies furnishing many of the speakers. The Disciples of Christ are joining with the Methodists, using one of the class periods for the consideration of their own denominational problems. Such programs of study, in which the most scientific thought is brought to bear upon the problems, are a long step in advance of the hit-and-miss method that has characterized so much of the work of the average denomination in the average city.

* * *

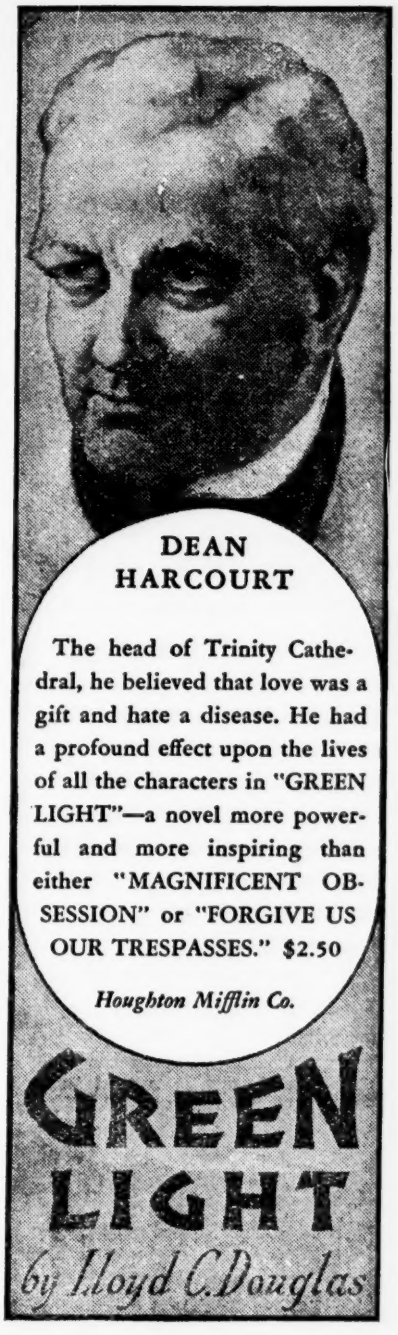
The Liquor Situation

California is gradually awakening to the fact that the free and unlimited sale of alcohol is not a cure all for economic ills, nor even a move in the direction of temperance. Two years ago the state enforcement act was repealed by a popular vote, leaving the state without any enforcement machinery. With the legalization of beer the regulation of its sale was put into the hands of the state board of equalization which was, at the time, not particularly dry. Since that time there have been some changes in the personnel of the board, and some legal enactments which have strengthened its hands. It is now a bit more inclined to afford the state some protection. Liquor licenses are being given out with more care and the sales are being watched much more critically, though there is much yet that reminds one of chaos. In the meantime drunken driving is a statewide scandal and the casualties are terrible. Also, in the meantime, the temperance forces of the state are pretty well disorganized. The state superintendent of the Anti-saloon league, Dr. A. H. Briggs, died a few weeks ago, leaving that group temporarily without official leadership. Several small temperance groups have sprung up over the state, all bidding for the slim financial support that can be provided, and dividing counsel. An effort has been made to bring them together, but not much has been accomplished.

* * *

The City Bows Its Head

A variety of scandal has overtaken the city during recent weeks. One judge has been deposed from the bench for habitual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drunkenness, another resigned under social and professional pressure due to his marriage to the wife of a prisoner who had recently been sentenced in his court. The district attorney is under indictment and is to be tried soon in the courts. The grand jury, just going out, has uncovered many foul-smelling situations. The secretary of the chief of police refused to testify before the jury in the matter of receiving campaign contributions for the present administration lest he should incriminate himself.

* * *

Visitation Evangelism

Several of the downtown churches are engaged in a visitation evangelism campaign under the leadership of Dr. A. Earl Kernahan. The Methodists are to have an attendance contest during the month of March, in which they hope to stimulate church attendance on the part of their own membership. In recording the attendance they are to register all persons in the services, thus revealing many interested "prospects." The contest is to be followed by a visitation evangelism program culminating at Easter.

* * *

New Pastorates Open

Dr. James W. Fifield, jr., recently arrived from Grand Rapids, Mich., has assumed the pastorate of the First Congregational church of Los Angeles. He follows in the footsteps of Dr. Carl Patton, one of the best beloved leaders of Congregationalism, and has already made a fine impression. His youth, his sincerity, and his fearlessness are certain to make him a great asset to the church life of the community.

Dr. G. A. Brigleib, one of the most colorful figures in southern California, has been pastor of St. Paul's Presbyterian church for eight years. A few weeks ago he received a call to Bethany church and accepted, only to have the presbytery refuse to endorse the move. He stays at St. Paul's.

* * *

Labor Troubles Multiply

The city is just emerging from the terrors of a street car strike that became pretty serious for a time. The street car company has lost every contention before the national labor board, but the union men are not back at work. Down in the Imperial valley the trouble of a year ago has burst into flames again, with open war on between union and non-union workers. Deaths, sluggings, violence and disorder have marked the controversy. This beautiful valley, which should be one of the garden spots of the world, has become one of the most troubled areas on the west coast.

* * *

P.S. Sister Aimee is in China this week.

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Political Storms Due in Britain

But Government Stands Pat—Famous Editor Dies—Football Helps Lancashire Through Depression

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Feb. 19.—It is seldom that we live in such earthquake weather in the political world. Several causes have been at work. The "pepper" gamble has not caused any permanent dislocation, but until the official inquiry has been held into the affairs of James and Shakespeare, the firm which has gone into liquidation, it is impossible to say who were responsible for the attempt to corner pepper and who backed them in the gamble. In such an interval rumor gets busy both here and in Europe.

The minister of labor has retreated in a manner which has been to his credit. But we still do not know who was responsible for the disastrous mishandling of the business of relief. "Retreat was doubtless the wise course, but retreat in a fog is a difficult and disheartening operation." Labor moved a vote of censure which drew the prime minister. He is said to have been more effective than in recent speeches.

At the end of the week Mr. Neville Chamberlain declared that parliament had still 20 months to run; the India bill would be passed and there would still be time for the government to do other things. But the rumblings, though less, are still heard.

* * *

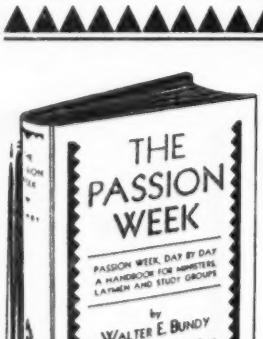
The Commission on the Private Traffic in Arms

Yesterday the names of the members of the commission were given. Their terms of reference are general but may be made broad enough in their range if the commissioners so desire. Their main difficulty will be to recommend steps which can usefully be taken to remove or minimize the kinds of objections to which private manufacture is stated to be open by the covenant of the League of Nations. The chairman is Sir Eldon Banks and among the members are Dame Crowdy and Sir Thomas Allen, vice-chairman of the Cooperative wholesale society, and Sir Kenneth Lee, a member of a very prominent family of Lancashire. There are also others who will represent other points of view—Mr. Gutteridge, the professor of comparative law in Cambridge; Sir Philip Gibbs, the novelist, who has done much to show up the follies and horrors of warfare, and last, but not by any means the least important, Mr. J. A. Spender, whom we still remember as the editor of the Westminster Gazette. No one who ever wrote for him when he edited that little green paper which appeared as evening fell, will ever doubt either his range of knowledge or his wisdom. The commission should do much to throw light upon the business of private manufacture of arms, but it is pretty obvious that they will be brought up against the necessity for international action.

* * *

A Great Editor—Clifford Sharp

It reveals the character of the late Clif-



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The Passion Week

By WALTER E. BUNDY

Professor of English Bible, DePauw University

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Its purpose is more simple—to apprehend and appreciate the human, dramatic and religious elements that have gone into the making of the story. At the beginning of each chapter is presented a clear and orderly outline of the Gospel passages which should be read and studied in connection with the comments here presented.

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ford Sharp as an editor, that everyone knew his paper and comparatively few could have told who the editor was. When Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb started the New Statesman they invited Sharp to be the editor. They gave him a free hand, and he used it very freely. He was on the side of labor but with a large measure of independence; in some ways he was conservative, in others liberal. He had an admiration for Asquith, but he was too great an editor to demand of his contributors that they should toe the line which he laid down. Those who knew him best say that he had both creativeness and decision, two gifts essential to a great editor. One of his colleagues told him once that if he became a convert to religion he would be a fanatic. He answered that he had once been at a mission conducted by Dr. F. B. Meyer, and he had to hold on to his seat lest he should rise and testify. One other thing is said of him; he praised his colleagues behind their backs. The weekly paper which he edited has a place of its own. To it we used to turn and still turn for an independent diagnosis of the body of this nation. It is clear how much it still owes to Sharp. He was only 51 when he died last week, but his health had been failing and his death was not a surprise.

* * *

Lancashire and Football

On Saturday last I was due in Blackburn in Lancashire, my home town. I had written to tell my host that I should be in the station a little before 5 o'clock and of course he was not to meet me; the Blackburn Rovers were playing an important match that afternoon, and every good Blackburn man would be there. As it turned out the rains had descended and the river Ribble overflowed its banks and the field was under water, so that there was no match. Now the highbrows shake their heads over this football business, but there is another side to it. These Lancashire folks, some of the bravest and best-tempered people in the world, have been passing through a time of the deepest depression. In the south of England they talk of emerging from the worst conditions; they are not emerging in Lancashire. In such a time the football matches bring an interest which cheers them and lifts them into a world where there is still excitement and skill to be praised. There is much to be said for football in such times.

Lancashire is still down; but it amazes me whenever I go there to discover the people's stoicism and patience, and their humor stands them in good stead. They are not a people given much to pietistic language, but even in these days they stand by their churches and Sunday schools and a fine story could be told by many a church of the sacrifice which is cheerfully offered. I wish every Londoner could visit a Lancashire town before he spoke so readily of our "having turned the corner." But if he *did* see it, he would not lose heart.

* * *

And So Forth

Mr. Mark Lancelot Symons, who died last week, was chiefly known to the general public for his pictures dealing with Christ in modern settings; one of these was called "Were you there when they crucified my Lord?"

The most famous of our Chinese scholars, Dr. H. A. Giles of Cambridge, has died at the age of 89. In his youth he joined the consular service in China and laid the foundation of his Chinese learning. He not only prepared a great dictionary, he translated some Chinese poems.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Coming Speakers at Chicago Sunday Evening Club

Bishop F. J. McConnell spoke at the Chicago Sunday Evening club on March 10. Other speakers for March and April are: March 17, Henry W. Edmonds, Birmingham; March 24, Bernard C. Clausen, Pittsburgh; March 31, Albert W. Beaven, Rochester; April 7, Miss Mary E. Woolley; April 14, G. G. Atkins; April 28, Harry Emerson Fosdick. On April 21 there will be given a recital of Easter music.

Religion and Labor Broadcasts

Among the speakers who are being heard in the series of Saturday evening broadcasts sponsored by the National Religion and Labor foundation are Arthur E. Holt, Norman Thomas, Henry P. Fairchild, Jerome Davis and John Haynes Holmes. About 25 stations are cooperating, among them WMCA New York, WMEX Boston, WJJD Chicago, WIL St. Louis and WFBE Cincinnati. From 9:30 to 10 p.m., eastern time, is the hour.

For Lenten Reading

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KING OF THE JEWS

Mary Borden takes up once more the great story that began in "Mary of Nazareth." The book starts where the other ended, on the day of the Crucifixion. It deals with events in Jerusalem and Galilee during the forty days that followed.

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Warns Churches Against Radicals

Colonel Knox, Chicago Editor, Tells Southern College Leaders of Perils —Corra Harris Dies

(Correspondence from the Southeast)

TAMPA, Feb. 20.—Col. Frank Knox, editor and publisher of the Chicago Daily News, warned southern educators representing church boards of education and church-related colleges, against radicalism as a present peril in America. The editor, speaking in the recent conference in Atlanta of the southern educators, declared that Europe's radically dangerous experiments in social control were being tried out on our own soil. He declared that the sad plight of the churches in Russia and Germany should remind American Christians that the church's function is to set before humanity a high standard of life and conduct in an age largely given to material pursuits. "Religion is neither the opiate that Russia calls it, nor the servile thing that the nazi Germans would make it; it can serve the state best by being free to lift the state by moral ideals." Colonel Knox did not say just how free he thought the church should be from other impedimenta, self-interested influences and hushings.

* * *

Prohibition Fight Grows Tense in Georgia

The dry fight has grown hot in Georgia as the state prohibition committees of various groups have united to bring influence to bear on the temperance committee of the Georgia house of representatives now in session. They are determined to keep Georgia dry, as it has been for 20 years. The repeal advocates are just as active as the drys and the issue is tightly drawn. The house does not seem eager to vote upon the prohibition repeal bill.

* * *

South Loses Great Figure in Death of Corra Harris

The death of Corra Harris, noted Georgia writer and exponent of good will and simple virtues, at her home in the north Georgia hills, Feb. 9, removed one of the most colorful personalities in southern literature and life. Her many books and articles established her as an American writer of more than transient interest and influence. From the publication of "The Circuit Rider's Wife," which brought trouble with the Methodist Episcopal church, south, in which her late husband, Rev. Lundy Harris, was a minister serving small towns and country parishes, to the last of her published articles and stories here and abroad, she was a woman of first rank among authors.

* * *

Billy Sunday In Florida

Billy Sunday, 70 years old, is going strong for a veteran in a series of Florida revival meetings. He is preaching now in Tampa in an interdenominational gospel hall and challenging the devil with the old Sunday antics, but with something less than the old-time snap and zest. The theology of the notable American evangelist seems to be about the same. From Tampa, Billy Sunday goes to the American winter sodom, Miami, where he will take on Satan for a three-week campaign.

* * *

Chamber of Commerce Awards Preacher and Red-Hunter

The annual award of the Atlanta chamber of commerce certificates of outstanding achievement during 1934 went to Rev. Herman L. Turner, pastor of Covenant Presbyterian church, for his leadership in the city's community chest campaigns, and to Solicitor-General John A. Boykin of Fulton county, for his effective suppression of communistic outbreaks in the city in the past year.

* * *

Bishop Candler to Raise Funds For Debt-Periled Church

Bishop Warren A. Candler, retired bishop of Methodist Episcopal church, south, has accepted the honorary chairmanship of a committee to raise $50,000 among Georgia Methodists to clear the Wesley Memorial church, Atlanta, of its indebtedness. The large downtown structure, built in 1916 as an institutional building, has been carrying a debt and an operating deficit for many years. There is a chance that the property might be sold now for the mortgage.

* * *

Georgia Episcopalians Draw New Bishop from Idaho

The Rt. Rev. Middleton Stuart Barnwell, bishop of Idaho for several years, was recently named bishop coadjutor of Georgia diocese of the Protestant Episcopal church. Bishop Barnwell's uncle, Bishop Stephen Elliott, was the first bishop of Georgia more than a hundred years ago.

ADIEL J. MONCRIEF, JR.

Southern Mountain Workers Will Meet in Knoxville

The annual conference of the Southern mountain workers will be held in Knoxville, Tenn., April 2-4. Among the themes to be considered are "Aspects of Rural Rehabilitation," "Curriculum Enrichment of Secondary Schools in the Mountain Area," "The Larger Parish," and "The Consumers' Cooperative Movement." Warren H. Wilson is chairman of the executive board of the conference.

Forty Bodies Back Anti-Lynching Bill

Forty organizations representing racial, political and religious groups recently sponsored a mass-meeting in Philadelphia for the purpose of educating the public to the perils of lynching and to arouse interest in the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill soon pending in congress. With the hope that the spirit of this meeting may be furthered, a call is issued to the citizenry of America urging them to enlist themselves in this movement. For further information inquiry may be made to Helen R. Bryan, Cooperative Committee Against Lynching, 20 S. 12th street, Philadelphia.

Untermeyer Says Nazi Boycott Has Proved Effective

Samuel Untermeyer, president of the Anti-Nazi league, takes issue with those who say that the anti-nazi boycott has been ineffective. "Stupendous results and cries of distress from official Germany overwhelmingly demonstrate the international and non-sectarian character of the boycott. Its worldwide success, in the face of the most extensive misleading official propaganda must satisfy every right-thinking man that this is not mainly or to any appreciable extent a Jewish question." Mr. Untermeyer reports that the boycott has already decreased Germany's world exports 27.4 per cent, and it has barely started.

Issue Call for Laymen's Congress in Chicago

Call for a national congress of young men interested in missions, to meet in Chicago in May, was issued at a meeting of 200 laymen of various churches held in Chicago Feb. 16. The congress will be held under the sponsorship of the Laymen's Missionary movement.

Missouri U. Exempts Objector From R.O.T.C. Work

The University of Missouri has finally granted exemption from R.O.T.C. work to Eugene Ringo, freshman conscientious objector suspended a year ago because of his refusal to attend military classes. Ringo is a Baptist and in his defense cited that denomination's opposition to compulsory military training in schools and colleges. He has been granted the option of substituting physical education for military training.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Lightning Strikes Twice

(Ben Lyon, Thelma Todd) (RKO) Melodramatic mystery-farce of mistaken identities embarrassing to gay society hero and his fiancee, with three supposed murders. Tries anything for a laugh—slapstick antics, fake fan dancing, policemen in underground sewers, etc. Lively but crude.

For A: Crude. For Y: Not good. For C: No.

The Little Colonel

(Shirley Temple, Lionel Barrymore) (Fox) Highly sentimental but charming post-civil war story of north-and-south antagonisms. Appealing little heroine finally breaks down old colonel's resentment of daughter's marriage to northerner. Lovely southern settings. Splendid rôles of veteran and child.

For A: Charming. For Y: Excellent. For C: Excellent.

Murder on a Honeymoon

(Edna May Oliver, James Gleason) (RKO) Lively, hilarious murder-mystery-farce, with schoolteacher-detective heroine who scents, tracks, and solves series of non-gruesome murders. Fun and excitement over false trails, the blunderings of a blustery detective, and Edna May's rare character work.

For A: Good of kind. For Y: Good of kind. For C: Too exciting.

One Hour Late

(Twelvetrees, Nagel, Morrison) (Para) Office romance of clerk and dumb stenographer provides human and pleasant little comedy-drama. Stalled elevator furnishes tense climax which influences the lives of four people, the hero finally winning the

girl and realizing his radio ambitions.
For A: Fair. For Y: Probably amusing. For C: No interest.

One More Spring

(Warner Baxter, Janet Gaynor) (Fox) Whimsical, human depression-story of three divergent characters, reacting differently to failure and privation, fighting poverty together with Central Park stable as refuge, winning through to spring. Suffering deftly made wistfully amusing and stimulating.
For A: Pleasing. For Y: Very good. For C: Beyond them.

Ruggles of Red Gap

(Laughton, Boland, Ruggles, Young) (Para) Masterpiece of comedy, contrasting crude western America of the '90s with European tradition, splendidly played by outstanding cast with exact degree of burlesque to bring out maximum comedy values in character and situation. Intelligent and utterly amusing.
For A: Excellent. For Y: Excellent. For C: Mostly amusing.

Rumba

(George Raft, Carol Lombard) (Para) Expert-dancer hero, crude but "irresistible," and "socially elite" heroine, blasé and languishing, do Havana-New York lovechase, kept carefully risque but not offensive. Wild press-agent adds comedy and thrill. Glamorous dancing throughout, as in Bolero.
For A: Hardly. For Y: Unwholesome. For C: No.

The Silver Streak

(Sally Blane, Charles Starrett) (RKO) Vivid expose of modern aluminum train—its invention, development, construction, trial, and final record-breaking, life-saving run from Chicago to Boulder Dam. Human interest story and mild romance interwoven. Acting ordinary. Healthily thrilling film.
For A: Interesting. For Y: Excellent. For C: Probably good.

Best Recent Films for Family:

County Chairman	The Iron Duke
The Little Minister	Baboona
Romance in Manhattan	David Copperfield

Films of Special Interest for Adults:

Clive of India	The President Vanishes
Broadway Bill	The Good Fairy
Lives of a Bengal Lancer	Mystery of Edwin Drood

BOOKS RECEIVED

Of Time and the River, by Thomas Wolfe. Scribners, $3.00.
The Garment of the Living God, by James Young Simpson, Scribners, $2.75.
Clashing Tides of Colour, by Lothrop Stoddard. Scribners, $3.00.
Farewell to Revolution, by Everett Dean Martin. W. W. Norton, $3.00.
Abraham Prince of Ur, by W. G. Hardy. Dodd, Mead, $2.50.
Bazaar of Dreams, a Collection of poems and travel verse, by Don Rockwell. With selected Arabic translations by Grand Sheik Amin Hamada Bey. Press Bureau, New York, $2.50.
William Warde Fowler, an Oxford Humanist, by Raymond H. Coon. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 10/6.
The Lindbergh Crime, by Sidney B. Whipple. Blue Ribbon Books, 386 Fourth Ave., New York, $1.00.
Light From Arcturus, by Mildred Walker. Harcourt, $2.50.
The Grass Grows Green, by Hortense Lion. Houghton Mifflin, $2.50.
Dante Vivo, by Giovanni Papini. Macmillan, $3.50.
The Meaning of "The Witch of Atlas," by Carl Grabo. University of North Carolina Press, $2.50.
Capitalism Carries On, by Walter B. Pitkin. Whittlesey House, $1.75.

Easter in the Holy Land

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says JOSEPH FORT NEWTON in an appreciation of

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Compiled by THOMAS CURTIS CLARK and WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON

Dr. Newton continues: "These poems make us ashamed of our low-vaulted fears and futilities, and restore our faith in life, bringing immortality to light. . . . They shame our shabby cynicism by their faith in the worth and meaning and prophecy of life; they restore its lost radiance and give it the lift and lilt of a lyric. God be thanked for the poets—seers, sayers, singers—who by their longer, stronger flight lift us out of the bog and show us to what fine issues life can ascend! Here they are, the goodly, glorious company, love-anointed and God-illumined, setting to music the ancient, high, heroic faith of our race and our religion. Their very names make a rosary of gladness and gratitude in our hearts.

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Other Comments on the Anthology

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